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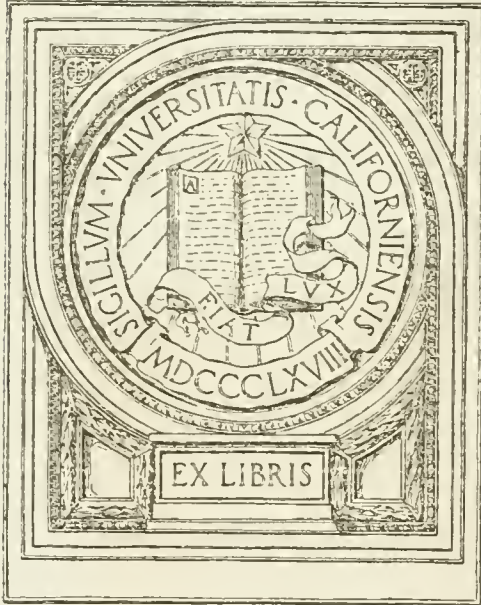
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THE AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

BY

MARTIN PHILIPPSON, PH. D.

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF BONN AND OF BRUSSELS,
AUTHOR OF "THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.," "HISTORY OF PRUSSIA FROM
THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT," "HISTORY OF
THE REIGN OF MARY STUART," ETC.

TRANSLATED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

JOHN HENRY WRIGHT, LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE "AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY, SECOND SERIES"

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THE AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

THE first five years of Frederick's reign had been, with a short intermission, filled with alarms of war and political cares of the most trying character. To these there now followed, up to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, a decade of quiet and peaceful intellectual industry and personal culture,—a period that may well be regarded as marking the culminating point of Frederick's life and development. The Silesian campaigns had transformed him into a mature man. The fearful sufferings of the Seven Years' War were to convert him prematurely into an old man. In this decade all the qualities of his head and heart were in fullest bloom. His spirit lay open to all the impulses of friendship, art, and poetry. Sarcastic wit had not yet supplanted his genial humor. He erected academies and cathedrals, converted a wilderness into a park (the Thiegarten), and decorated his town-residence in Potsdam. But, above all, he took delight in erecting his château of Sans Souci (Fig. 1), where, in rural retirement, he could lead a life devoted not only to state duties, but also to the pleasures of the intellect and the delights of a select and refined companionship. Here he wrote his most important works.

The friends present at Rheinsberg, and even those of the first months of his monarchy, were never, indeed, to be reunited. Jordan, Kayserlingk, Duhan, and the aesthetic Sulm had died. The tender manner in which Frederick, in the midst of the heaviest political cares and troubles, bewailed their fate, and the warmth with which he cared for the friends left behind, show how ill-founded was the charge of hard-heartedness even then brought against him. His special confidant, Count Rothenburg, an intellectual, energetic man, not less distinguished for his brilliant valor than for his diplomatic

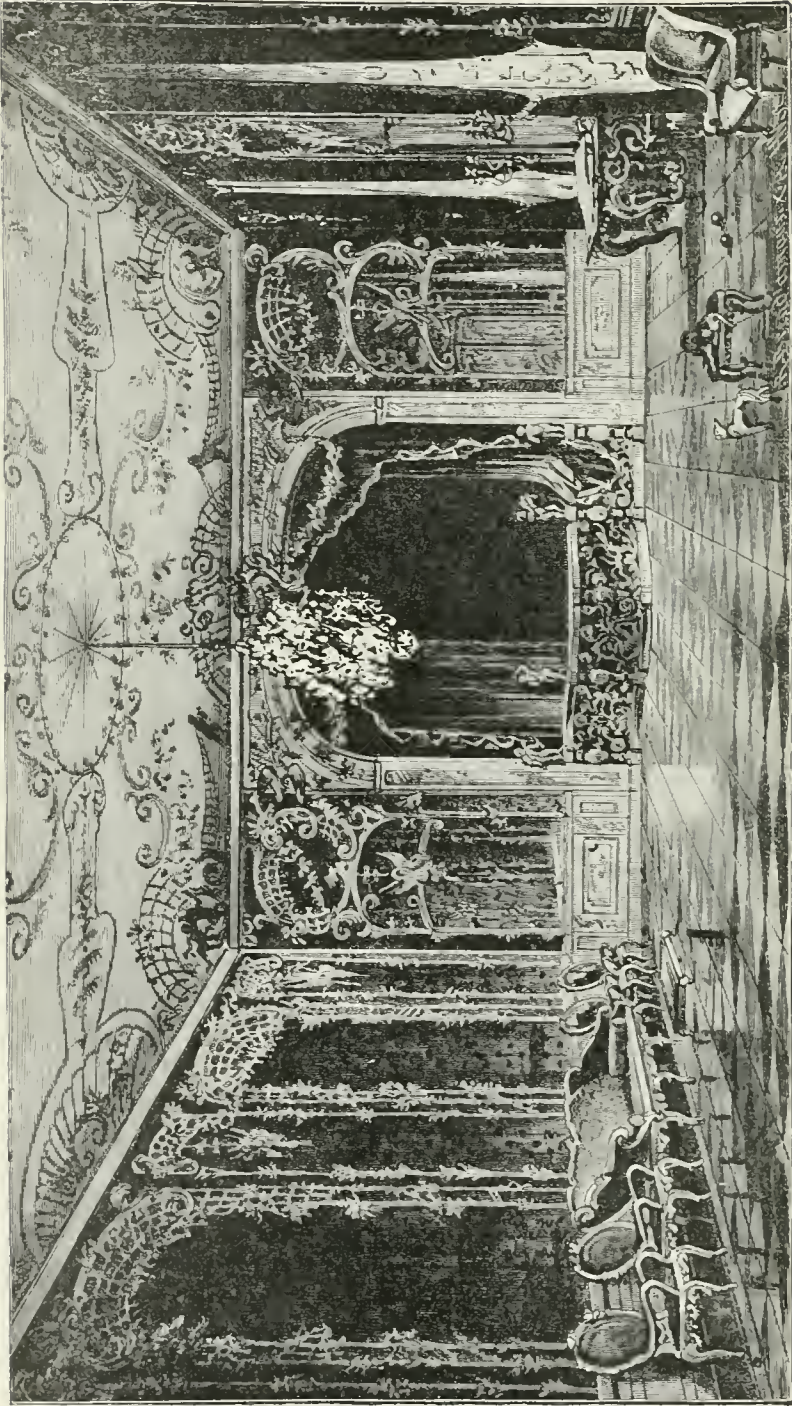


FIG. 1. — The bedchamber of Frederick the Great in 'Sans Souci,' as it was in his time (later it was much changed by Schinkel). From a contemporary water-color drawing by the architect Strack. To the right, in the foreground, is the chair in which the king died; it is now in the Hohenzollern Museum in Berlin. The king slept in the alcove, which is separated from the main room by the balustrade.

capacity, was also snatched from him by the consequences of a wound received in the Second Silesian War. Under such afflicting losses of the friends of his youth, his heart seemed to shut itself up more and more. The foreigners who surrounded him might indeed



FIG. 2. — Jean Baptiste d'Alembert. (From the copper-plate engraving, 1775, by P. Maleuvre ; original drawing, 1744, by A. Pujos.)

captivate his fancy more ; but with the exception of the genial, witty, and accomplished Provençal, Marquis d'Argens, none seemed to touch his heart. Maupertuis was held by Frederick in high respect, on account of his erudition ; but his self-conceit and spirit of irony prevented him ever gaining access to his heart. Such were the

men whom Frederick placed at the head of his revived academies. D'Alembert (Fig. 2), on the other hand, much as the king loved him, would not let himself be permanently captured, preferring, as he did, the delights of a Parisian residence and the freedom of a private life. His record of the impression made by a short familiar



FIG. 3. — The Voltaire Room in the Palace of Sans Souci.

intercourse with the monarch on a man of such standing will always remain a generous testimonial to Frederick's character. When any one in Paris referred to his residence in Sans Souci, his eyes became more brilliant and his voice more ardent. "People," he exclaimed, "know this king only through his deeds that history will record.

Je promets a Sa Majesté que tant quelle me
fera la Grace de Me Loger aux Chateau, je n'écrirai
contre personne, ~~Soit~~ Contre le Gouvernement
de France, Contre les Ministres soit Contre d'autres
Souverains, ou Contre des Gens de Lettre illustre
envers Les Quels on me trouve Railler Les
Egards qui leur sont dus, je n'écrirai point des
Lettres de Sa Majesté et je me gouvernerai d'une
Maniere Convenable a un homme de Lettre qui
a l'honneur d'être Chambellan de Sa Majesté.
ce 27 de Nov: 1752 et qui vit avec des honnêtes Gens
fait a Pözdnam. j'exécuteray sur tous les ordres de
votre majesté. et mon cœur n'aura pas de peine a
luy obéir. je la supplie encor une fois de considérer
que jamais je n'ay écrit contre aucun gouverne-
ment encor moins contre celui sous le quel
j'esus né, et que je n'ay quitté que pour venir
achever ma vie a vos pieds. j'ay été historien
grace de France, et en cette qualité j'ay écrit
l'histoire de Louis 14, et celle des campagnes
de Louis 15 que j'ay envoyées a m^r d'Argenson
ma voix et ma plume ont été consacrées
a ma patrie, comme elles le sont a vos
ordres. je vous conjure d'avoir la bonté

De examiner quele est le fonds de la
querelle de ma part tri,
je vous conjure de croire que
j'oublie cette querelle puisque
vous me l'ordonnez
je me soumetts sans doute a
toutes vos volontez. Si votre
majeste' m'avait ordonné de
ne me point deffendre, et de
ne point entrer dans cette dispute
litteraire, je luy aurais obeï
avec la meme soumission.
je la supplie de pargner un
vieillard accablé de maladies
et de douleur, et de croire
que je mourrai aussi attaché
a elle que le jour que j'eus
arrivé a sa cour
Voltaire

But of what he is for the lesser world that live with him, it takes no account, — of how he charms you by his brilliant wit, educates you by his pure reason, imparts to you all the pain and the rapture of friendship, and of how tenderly he loves and is loved in return. Such a king stands for men and for the rulers of men, as the ‘rule of Polycletus’ stands for all artists.”

This select circle the two Keiths entered in 1747. They were Scotch noblemen, who after leaving their native land on account of their adhesion to the Stuart cause, and after manifold wanderings, found the warmest of welcomes and most honorable reception in Berlin. The elder brother was, especially, a refined, cultured, and dignified man of the world. The younger, who was appointed by Frederick to a field-marshalship, was a valiant and gifted warrior, and devoted to his patron even unto death.

Every one of these natures Frederick knew how to treat in the appropriate way, to put in his proper place, and to use. His correspondence bears the most eloquent testimony to the extraordinary many-sidedness and the inexhaustible richness of his mind. Nor, in this connection, must we forget his relations to Voltaire (Fig. 3). A common life, for any length of time, was impossible to these two eminent characters. Voltaire was too intent on utilizing to the utmost, and for his own personal gain, his friendship with the sovereign. Frederick, on the other hand, was too absolute a monarch to have sufficient consideration for the foibles of this prince of poets (PLATE I.¹). After several years of alienation, during which Voltaire

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE I.

Facsimile of the formal declaration written and sent by Frederick II. to Voltaire for him to sign, which the latter sent back with a postscript. Original size. (Berlin, collection of Herr Lessing, Director of the Provincial Court of Justice.)

TRANSCRIPTION.

Je promets a Sa Majesté que tout quelle me fera la Grace de Me Loyér aux Châten, je n'écrirai contre personne, Soit Contre le Gouvernement de France, Contre les Ministres soit contra d'autres Souverains ou Contra des Gens de Lettre illustre envers Les Quels on me trouvera Rendre Les Egards qui leurs sont dus, je n'abuserai point des Lettres de Sa Magesté et je me gouvernerai d'une Maniere Convenable a un home de lettre qui a L'honneur d'être Chambelan de Sa Majesté.

et qui vit avec des honetes Gens

ce 27 de Nov. 1752
fait a Potsdam.

The following Voltaire wrote immediately under the above :
j'excuteray Sire tous les ordres de votre majesté. et mon coeur n'aura pas de peine a luy obeir. je la supplie encor une fois de considerer que jamais je nay eerit contre aucun gouvernement encor moins contre celui, sous lequel je suis né, et que je nay

assailed his royal adversary with the most unworthy weapons, Frederick — not able to renounce the stimulation which the great genius supplied him — again entered into correspondence with him. But Voltaire's petitions for the restoration of his chamberlainship and Order of Merit the king steadily ignored, considering him morally unworthy of such distinction.

A constant intercourse with writers and men of trained minds stimulated Frederick himself to literary industry, his favorite occupation being poetry. He has pleasantly depicted how, after laboring for the weal of his subjects, ordering a battle, or bringing a treaty

quitté que pour venir achever ma vie a vos pieds. jay été historiographe de france, et en cette qualité jay écrit l'histoire des louis 14, et celle des campagnes de Louis 15 que jay envoyées a mr dargenson ma voix et ma plume ont été consacrées a ma patrie, comme elles le sont a vos ordres. je vous conjure d'avoir la bonté d'examiner quel est le fonds de la querelle de maupertui ;

je vous conjure de croire que j'oublie cette querelle puisque vous me l'ordonnez je me soumetts sans doute a toutes vos volontés. Si votre majesté m'avait ordonné de ne me point défendre, et de ne point entrer dans cette dispute littéraire je luy aurais obéi avec la même soumission. je la supplie d'épargner un vieillard accablé de maladies et de douleur, et de croire que je mourrai aussi attaché a elle que le jour que je suis arrivé a sa cour

VOLTAIRE.

TRANSLATION.

I promise His Majesty that while he shall have the kindness to lodge me, I will write against no one, neither against the government of France, nor against her ministers, nor against other sovereigns, nor against illustrious men of letters ; I will grant them the respect which is their due ; I will not use wrongfully the letters of His Majesty ; and I will conduct myself as should a man of letters who has the honor to be a chamberlain of His Majesty.

and who lives with honest people

Potsdam,
Nov. 27, 1752.

Voltaire wrote below as follows :

Sire, I will execute all the commands of Your Majesty, and my heart will obey you without reluctance. Yet I beg you to consider that I have never hitherto written against any government, least of all against that under which I was born, and which I have never left except to come to lay my life at your feet. I have been a historian of France, and in that capacity I have written the history of Louis XIV., and that of the campaigns of Louis XV., which I have sent to Monsieur d'Argenson. My voice and my pen have been consecrated to my country, as they are at your command. I beseech you to have the goodness to examine the ground of the quarrel with Maupertuis.

I beseech you to believe that I forget this quarrel, since you bid me.

I submit unhesitatingly to all your wishes. If Your Majesty had chosen to order me not to defend myself, and not to enter into this literary dispute, I should have obeyed with the same submission. I entreat you to spare an old man overwhelmed by maladies and pain, and to believe that I shall die as devoted to you as the day I arrived at your court.

VOLTAIRE.

to a conclusion, he would turn to the innocent recreation of tuning his lyre. His poetry is the immediate expression, and, as it were, the necessary outcome of his personal moods and feelings, — not designed for the public but for his own satisfaction. He himself set no other value on his pieces — almost all inspired by the occasion. To us they are mainly of value as reflecting the inner nature of the great prince, as well as the French culture of his time. The style, though not always entirely correct, is fluent and elegant, and has less poetical than rhetorical qualities. His comico-historic poem, “Palladion,” — founded on actual fact, — delineated the unavailing efforts of the Austrians to get Valory, the French ambassador, into their power, regarding him as the palladium of Prussia, on which all its good fortune depended. This gave opportunity for satirizing the affected piety and the military incapacity of the imperial generals, as well as for the laudation of the heroes of the Prussian fatherland. A year later (1749), appeared a longer poem, on the art of war, in which he celebrates Prussian patriotism, and records his gratitude to his heroic army. Round these two greater poems are grouped many lesser pieces reflecting the thoughts and sentiments of the hour, — his views, philosophical and even moral, varying in accordance with the influences operating on him, or the models which he imitates.

Still more important than Frederick's poems were his historical works. His first work of this nature, “The History of My Time” (1746), furnishes the details of the two Silesian wars. In such a work we cannot look for either completeness or unprejudiced estimate of persons and conditions; but if we wish to learn how the events of this most important epoch reflected themselves in the mind of a great contemporaneous commander, statesman, and monarch, we shall there find material wherewith to satisfy us.

Of scarcely less importance are the “*Memorabilia of the House of Brandenburg*,” mainly based, from the reign of the Great Elector downward, on careful archival and military investigation. It is evident, from its perfect appreciation of the substance of history, that the foremost specialists of the country had contributed to it. As historian Frederick was a true disciple of Voltaire and Montesquieu, in that he sought the historical development of a nation — as of an individual — in all the influences, intellectual, moral, and economical, brought to bear on it, moulding, and, it may be, ultimately transforming its character. Frederick was, perhaps, but an indifferent

poet; but, as a historian, he was one of the most original and most talented authors of the eighteenth century.

In respect to philosophy, Frederick had no fixed position, but vacillated between naturalism and theism, with a greater leaning towards the latter. It is touching to see how his powerful mind, which could not long reconcile itself to the nullity of naturalism, seeks, ever and anon, to press onward from the barrenness of scepticism to sincere conviction. In numerous verses, letters, and recorded conversations, he opposes the idea of the immortality of the soul, holding the spirit to be only a result of the mechanism of our corporeal organism; but as soon as a dear friend or a loved member of the family is carried away by death, he speaks out the hope of soon seeing them again, and of a speedy reunion. Frequently he makes merry over every variety of professional theology; but his belief in a personal God he would never surrender, seeing him, as he did, in all the dispositions of the universe so indicative of purpose, as well as in the rational qualities of the human soul. But the possibility of apprehending God more closely than this, he altogether repudiates. An enemy of religion Frederick can in no sense be called; rather did he expect the best effects on public morals from the rational cultivation of it.

It is strange how little attention this enthusiastic friend of mental culture and freedom paid to the school system. He was an intellectual aristocrat.

In his church policy Frederick remained true to the principle of complete toleration, which he enunciates in the well-known distich:—

“Sectateur de Genève, ou sectateur de Rome,
Soyez bon citoyen, et mon cœur vous chérit.”

Prussia was the first country in Europe to concede full liberty of conscience, at least to all Christian confessors. The Catholics he permitted to build the then considered beautiful Hedwigskirche in the best situation in his capital. In East Friesland he allowed the free exercise of divine worship, which Calvinistic intolerance had long denied them. He also allowed Catholic schools to be established; “for,” he said, “in my land all religions are free.” The Protestant clergy were rigidly interdicted from denouncing and condemning those of the other faith as heretics. For the promotion of the education of Catholic theologians he caused Jesuits to be introduced as teachers into the Academy of Breslau. But, in respect to

PLATE II.



Frederick II. (Frederick, the third king of Prussia).

From a copper-plate engraving (1743) by G. F. Schmidt (1712-1775); original painting by Antoine Pesne (1684-1757).

History of All Nations, Vol. XV., page 25.

the secular relations of the churches, he firmly maintained his own rights and those of the state. In defiance of the resistance of the pope and the Breslau cathedral-chapter, he enforced the installation of Count Schaffgotsch as Prince-Bishop of Breslau. But when, later, the latter showed himself refractory and even treasonable, he was despoiled of his income and all jurisdiction, so that he had to withdraw to the Austrian portion of his diocese. In Berlin, Potsdam, and other places where Catholicism existed, Frederick appointed and deposed pastors without asking the assent of Rome or any bishop. The monasteries he subjected to the strictest supervision, permitting them no acquisition of new sites, or increase in the number of the inmates.

One sees that the Catholic church then submitted with equanimity to restrictions that it would now declare to be intolerable. Benedict XIV. constantly expressed his perfect satisfaction with all that Frederick did, and more particularly his gratitude for his generous treatment of the Silesian Catholics. Benedict was the first pontiff who greeted the 'margrave of Brandenburg' with the title of 'king.' The generals of the Jesuit order also addressed the most complimentary and grateful letters to him.

In his administration of secular matters, as in his ecclesiastical policy, Frederick (PLATE II.) remained, on the whole, constant to the principles of his father, seeking only to inspire them with fresh spirit. Unremittingly he impressed on the highest officials that they occupied their positions, not for the sake of the king, but for that of the country. Military severity in regard to duty was maintained over all classes of officials, from the minister downwards. A sovereign that devoted himself with his whole heart to the interest of his subjects believed himself entitled to require the same devotion from his servants.

Very humanely did Frederick look after the interests of the most numerous class of his people, — the peasantry. "There shall be no tax imposed," he said in an edict, "that the subject cannot endure. Least of all will His Majesty consent that the compulsory services be increased." In conformity with this, the authorities in every province and every circle were directed to make special investigation whether the peasantry could not, in some measure at least, be relieved from this burden: and whether in place of laboring the whole week for the landlord, it might not be enough to work for him three or four days only. In principle, the king really favored

the entire liberation of the peasant class. Special measures were enacted prohibiting any augmentation of the land-tax, and recommending to the General Directory the partition of the greater farms in favor of the younger sons of the occupants. Manufactures and commerce also received his attention; and measures were enjoined for their furtherance, which, though not all in conformity with modern economical science, were at least excellently designed.

But Frederick's rule was especially distinguished from that of his father in regard to the department of law. Frederick William, an entirely uncultured man, cherished a special abhorrence of trained jurists, holding them to be perverters of justice, whose pernicious industry could only be in some measure restrained by the keen supervision of the executive authorities, especially of the king himself. His son, on the other hand, saw in a judicature freed from all external influences the groundwork of all public order, and was persuaded that this was the proper end for which the state was instituted.

The independence of the administration of justice was asserted with an energy and decision unknown in any other country of the period. Since the days of Frederick II., indeed, the absolute state of Prussia has been in many respects more liberal than many republican and constitutional commonwealths.

The reorganization of the administration of justice on a permanent basis, and its purgation from the abuses which had grown up in it, was the main object that Frederick proposed to himself in his domestic rule. In this task he found an efficient helper in his minister of justice, Samuel von Cocceji (Fig. 4). The foundation of the new legal order of things was laid in 1746, when Frederick secured from the emperor for all his lands liberation from liability to be summoned before the imperial tribunals. Now for the first time could Prussia be regarded as constituting a uniform and independent district with its own law. Cocceji's scheme had a threefold aim: The reform of the College of Justice, with few, but well-paid and efficient members; the reform of the procedure by eliminating the hunt after perquisites, and the useless protraction of processes, each of which was now required to be decided within a year; and the supersession of the obsolete, confused, and obscure code made up of all sorts of laws, traditional and written, by a new code applicable to the whole country, and adapted to the requirements of the time. With energy Cocceji addressed himself to

carrying out at least the first two objects. For the compilation of a great "*Codex Fridericianus*" he was indeed scarcely competent; but there appeared in close connection with this, as a first attempt at



FIG. 4. — Samuel L. B. von Cocceji. From a drawing by J. Jakob Haid (died 1767); original painting by R. Lysiesky.

least at reforming the system of judicature, a new constitution for the courts of law and a new mode of procedure in conducting cases, both of which objects were most successfully carried out.

To the newly constituted and thoroughly independent bench,

whose character was the best guaranty for its impartiality and efficiency, the liberty, life, and property of the subjects were intrusted. Its members were especially instructed to have regard to nothing but justice and the good of the citizens. "The laws must speak, and the sovereign must be silent," says Frederick in his political testament drawn up in 1752. Already the entire withdrawal of the adjudication of cases from the administration was an important achievement, and greeted everywhere with approval. It was in this absolute Prussia that the theory of Montesquieu in regard to the separation of powers celebrated its first triumph. It had now impressed on it the character of a state guided by well-defined laws; and often as ministers tried to efface this trait, they were never successful in doing so. For the first time in centuries, justice was administered speedily, cheaply, and impartially. The king and Cocceji had effected what, according to the latter's expression, "All the powers in Europe could not accomplish."

Moreover, in matters affecting individual portions of the kingdom, Frederick was at pains to afford needful counsel and assistance. The baleful consequences of the Thirty Years' War were not yet overcome in Brandenburg and Pomerania; and to help these provinces, which he regarded as the nucleus and main strength of his state, he made his foremost object. Numerous colonists were introduced with the view of imbuing the tenaciously conservative and somewhat narrow-minded population with new ideas in regard to agriculture and cattle-raising. He repaired the breaches in the embankment of the Oder, and so reclaimed long stretches of land. The population rapidly increased—in Pomerania, within eight years, from 230,000 to 280,000; in the Kurmark of Brandenburg, within fifteen years, from 476,000 to 580,000. He was unwearied in visiting his provinces with the object of learning their capabilities, excellences, wants, and wishes. "Address yourselves to me," he said to the tradespeople of the Silesian mountain districts. "I am your first minister." Every one was free to present his petition to him. It was generally attended to forthwith, but equally promptly and inexorably did the guilty or negligent meet with condign punishment. But wherever the interests of the individual collided with those of the state, the former were unhesitatingly sacrificed to the latter. However much he regretted not being able to do away with the most oppressive burdens, every fibre had to be strained to enable the youngest and weakest of the European great powers to maintain

the place it had won. The gross yearly revenue, by the end of the period of peace, was almost double what it had been under Frederick William I., namely, 11,000,000 thalers. Of this sum but 1,000,000 was devoted to court and civil expenses, against 8,300,000 expended on the army. The balance was for extraordinary outlays, or found its way into the treasury. From this latter source Frederick paid all the obligations of his second war, as well as the Austrian debts resting on Silesia, and then had 14,000,000 thalers in the state coffers, a brilliant testimony to his economy and ability as a financier. The saved millions inured to the exclusive benefit of the army, which, it may be estimated, swallowed up nine-tenths of the country's gross income. A strong military force, always prepared for war, alone ena-



FIG. 5. — A Prussian drill-master. From a drawing by Daniel Chodowiecki (1726–1801).

bled Prussia to protect herself against the foes everywhere lying in wait for her. Care for his army, therefore, Frederick esteemed his most imperative duty. He brought its strength up to 135,000 men, while the regiments had, within a few years after the conclusion of the war, attained so martial a character that the loss of so many old soldiers and most capable officers was no longer noticed. They developed a degree of steadiness and precision in their movements such as to call forth the admiring wonder of foreign observers. The king was unwearied in inspecting them, even in their ordinary every-day drills (Fig. 5), the importance of which for the maintenance of order and efficiency in the field he thoroughly recognized — possibly overrated. For defects he had no forbearance, regarding the welfare of the state as depending on the perfection of its warlike machine.

With this army Frederick hoped to maintain his own prestige and that of his country, and to be able to defend his widely scattered lands against every assailant, probably even to protect the whole of North Germany from foreign invasion. No longer did he think of war and conquest, but only of preserving peace. The last war had brought him bitter disillusion, and especially the conviction that the resources of Prussia were too weak to enable her to maintain, for any length of time, a war against a great power; that while, with his adversaries, war was only a question of fame, or, at most, of certain provinces, Prussia, in a great struggle, constantly risked her very existence. "Learn," he wrote in 1750 to his ambassador in Paris, "that I remain unalterably true to the defensive alliances I have formed, and will, to the best of my ability, discharge the obligations which these impose, but I will on no account enter into an offensive alliance." "I desire no war," he remarked some weeks later; "I suffer still too much from the last war I maintained against the court of Vienna."

Yet this very war that he dreaded and sought to avoid was to be forced upon him, and to cover himself and his Prussia with glory — but only after terrible perils and losses, which cast a gloom over the great king's heart, destroyed his enjoyment of life, and hardened his nature.

Not for an instant did Frederick deceive himself in reference to the purposes of Maria Theresa. He perfectly recognized that it was only through compulsion that she had surrendered Silesia, and that she was eagerly awaiting the moment when her lands and alliances should be strong enough to enable her to avenge herself upon her rebellious vassal, who had torn away the finest pearl from her diadem. That the maritime powers had not intervened with such effect as to prevent the spoliation, filled her heart with bitterness against them: and, in defiance of the traditional Austrian policy, she now sought to enter into friendly relations with France. For Prussia, the ally of the latter country, these efforts were the more menacing because Frederick knew well how little sympathy there was for him at the court of Versailles. The bigotry to which Louis XV. more and more surrendered himself, the very dissoluteness and prodigality of his life, caused an alliance with his sister in faith, the empress-queen, to appear a duty imperatively demanded by conscience.

Despite the remonstrances of all her ministers, excepting the im-

PLATE III.



perious and headstrong Bartenstein, and of the emperor himself, Maria Theresa held fast to her purposes of revenge through the French alliance, and found an admirable instrument in Count Kaunitz.

Wenzel Anton, Count Kaunitz, born in 1711, of a great Moravian family, had, even when a young man, had valuable experience in the diplomatic service. His eminent abilities soon gained him the confidence of the empress, to whom he remained true with unfaltering loyalty. He was a man of comprehensive mind, keen of perception, tenacious of purpose, one of the most expert diplomatists of his time, but filled with self-conceit. Kaunitz became in 1749 a member of the empress's privy council. There he recommended a breach in the traditions of the Hapsburgs and a closer alliance with France, entirely with a view to the isolation and ultimate castigation of Prussia. The animosity with which Frederick combated the election of Maria Theresa's eldest son, the Archduke Joseph, as king of Rome, served to commend this policy. The French *chargé d'affaires* was received with high distinction in Vienna, although the Versailles cabinet maintained a reserved attitude towards Austria. The sharp antagonism which then arose between Russia and France, especially in regard to Polish and Swedish affairs, tended to alienate the latter from the court of Vienna, so closely allied with the czarina. But thereupon Maria Theresa decided to send Kaunitz himself as ambassador to Paris. At first this statesman, adroit as he was, had but little success. King Louis, indeed, was as enthusiastic as any politician of the sixteenth century for an alliance of the great Catholic powers. But we know that the king exercised little influence in determining the policy of France. His ministers regarded Frederick as their only strong and independent ally, whom they could not afford to sacrifice to France's hereditary enemy, the house of Hapsburg. Kaunitz (PLATE III.) recognized that a reaction was to be brought about only through the influence of Pompadour. By the most delicate attention to Louis's vain mistress, he was able to ingratiate himself with her, and gradually to bring politics into this personal relation. But he had scarcely laid the foundation for the realization of his plans, when Maria Theresa named him, in 1753, state-chancellor, and, consequently, premier. Bartenstein was intrusted with the guidance of the domestic administration. In Kaunitz's stead Count Starhemberg, who was in all respects in harmony with the views of the new state-chancellor, went as Austrian ambassador to Paris.

The situation was especially menacing for Prussia, inasmuch as Austria could, under all circumstances, count on the alliance of Russia. The czarina, as well as her chancellor, Bestuzheff, held the powerful and enterprising Prussian king to be the neighbor most dangerous for their empire. Besides, Frederick, in his lively, unguarded way of speaking, had let too many contemptuous expressions escape him in regard to the czarina and her statesmen, and so had made them his personal and irreconcilable enemies. The Czarina Elizabeth especially—in keeping with her brutal disposition—became entirely carried away by her hatred for him. A few objects only had interest for her. In the front rank of these stood her toilet, which she made five or six times a day. Seldom did she wear a dress a second time; and on her death fifteen thousand and some hundred pieces of attire were found, as well as several thousand pairs of shoes. Next to dress came the selection of her ever-changing favorites, which was determined exclusively by their stateliness of appearance. Last of all came the exercises of her superstitious piety. On her entrance on the government she had recorded a vow never to inflict capital punishment; but nevertheless, on the merest suspicion, thousands and thousands were flogged, mutilated, or exiled to Siberia. The most arrant scoundrels had in their hands the fate of the empire and of every individual in it. Gradually Bestuzheff was able to overthrow all his adversaries; and he used his victory despotically and tyrannically, taking bribes from all sides, but himself trembling at the least indication of suspicion on the part of the czarina.

Russia had always been the ally of Austria, but never so closely as under Elizabeth and Bestuzheff. She alone of all the great powers had not recognized the cession of Silesia to Prussia. But, over and above this, on May 22 (June 2), 1746, at St. Petersburg, the Austrian and Russian diplomatists put their names to a secret alliance of the two powers against any attack of Prussia on either of them, or on the republic of Poland. The king of Poland was excused from formally joining the league, as this involved too much danger for Saxony. Nevertheless, Vienna and St. Petersburg were satisfied that, at the right moment, he would take part in the 'tournament.' Frederick had more than a suspicion of these arrangements, and diplomatic relations between him and Russia were soon broken off.

This latter country was more disposed to hostility than Austria herself under Maria Theresa. Even in 1746, Russia attempted to

seduce the empress into violating the scarcely concluded Peace of Dresden. In 1749 Elizabeth sought to involve Austria in a war with Sweden, and thus, necessarily, with its ally, Prussia; but Austria was then still suffering too severely from the consequences of the last eight years' struggle, while France would not willingly see her true northern ally ruined, and even the Porte declared itself ready to protect Sweden. Frederick thus saw himself at the head of a great coalition against Russia and Austria, which made an attack on him by them impracticable. But would such a fortunate conjuncture ever again recur?

When, in 1752, he came into serious collision with the Dresden court on account of the claims of certain of his subjects on the Saxon exchequer, Russia took such a decided stand in favor of the latter, that he became thoroughly convinced that Saxony had acceded to the St. Petersburg alliance. The support of republican Poland was even sought by representing that Prussia cherished the purpose of annexing Courland.

Fear of Russia had chiefly induced Frederick to come to the resolve to avoid war, if this were at all possible; and yet, every year, he dreaded seeing it break out, believing, as he did, that Maria Theresa's financial and military preparations, as well as her alliances, had for their object to enable her to contend with Prussia under more favorable conditions than in the Silesian wars. The dread of an ultimate catastrophe never left his mind for a moment. "It was always my view," he writes, in 1753, to the Prince of Prussia, "that the jealousy of our enemies would bring a new war upon us. I do not say that this is at hand; but I can confidently affirm that it will come, and then all will depend on the contingency of whether we have as many allies as enemies. If this is the case, we shall come safely out of the complication." Every movement of troops in Austria or Russia, every unusual degree of activity in the intercourse between the cabinets, seemed to him the signal for the great struggles on which the future—nay, the existence—of Prussia depended. It is by looking at the situation from this standpoint that we come to appreciate properly Frederick's labors, especially financial and military, to increase the strength of the state, to the postponement of all other objects.

And yet the outbreak of the European war was not, in the first instance at least, associated with the antagonism between Prussia and the Austro-Russian alliance, nor directly with European rela-

tions at all, but with occurrences happening beyond the ocean. Indeed, in the War of the Austrian Succession, the question had been not so much that of the permanency of the Hapsburg monarchy as whether English or French—that is, Germanic or Romance—influence should prevail in North America and Southern Asia.

The East Indies, with their rich spices, precious stones, costly fabrics, and their rice and cotton, had become, since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the goal of the colonizing aspirations of all the commercial nations of Europe. The English East India Company was founded in 1600, on the type of that of the Dutch (1594), and, like it, was granted by its government the monopoly of trade with Eastern Asia. It was not till 1639 that the British succeeded in establishing their first permanent settlement on the coast of Coromandel, the later Madras. King Charles II. largely extended the privileges of the company, by conferring on it the right of making war on, and concluding treaties with, all non-Christian princes and peoples. A series of factories arose upon the coasts of India; yet so long as the power of the Mogul empire remained unbroken, the company's possessions were of but modest dimensions. But these the English, with their practical capacity, organized in the best manner possible. The company protected its settlements by forts and troops in its own pay, and exercised jurisdiction in its own territories, its 'regency' residing at Bombay. Threatened in its existence by the erection of a rival company, it had tact enough to bring about, in 1708, a fusion with it, when it received, through parliamentary enactment, its definitive form. The supreme authority in the company lay with the Court of Proprietors,—that is, the general meeting of the shareholders,—while the actual management of its affairs was intrusted to a directory, which nominated the officials,—the presidents of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, their councils, courts, and subalterns. But the success of the renovated company was at first by no means brilliant; for Portuguese, Danes, French, Dutch, Swedes, and occasionally Belgians, maintained a lively competition with it. During the first half of the eighteenth century the annual export of English wares to India was no more than £150,000, while the imports of Indian products amounted to some £700,000.

The Englishmen's most dangerous rivals in this land were the French. After several unsuccessful attempts, Colbert, in 1664, established an East India Company, whose main seat in the Dec-

can was Pondicherry, besides which it acquired three other small places. Much more important than these settlements in Hindustan were those made in Mauritius (Isle of France) and the Isle of Bourbon, on the east coast of Africa. Here resided, at the formal outbreak of the Anglo-French war in 1744, as governor-general, the Breton, Mahé de la Bourdonnaye, an enlightened and energetic man. Him his government commissioned to seize the English possessions in Hindustan. To effect this, however, he needed the co-operation of the governor of the French East Indian Company, Dupleix. The son of a rich farmer-general of revenues, Dupleix was a man of the most boundless ambition and self-esteem. He put all possible impediments in La Bourdonnaye's way, in order to lead the attack himself on the English. Nevertheless, La Bourdonnaye took Madras; but he was debarred from further progress by Dupleix, and was so calumniated by him in Europe that he was recalled, and committed for three years to the Bastille. Without hesitation Dupleix now broke the compact made with the English by his predecessor, and proceeded to further conquests. But the landing of a considerable force from the English fleet gave a different aspect to affairs, and the French saw themselves restricted to a painful defence. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, that restored Madras to the English, failed to secure lasting peace for the districts involved. The fall of the great Mogul empire gave occasion for a renewal of the struggle that was to end in establishing English supremacy.

With the death of the ruthlessly bloodthirsty Aurung-Zeb, the last relic of strength departed from the dynasty of the Great Moguls. The expedition of rapine and conquest led by the Persian king, Nadir Shah, — who, in 1739, captured the great and magnificent Delhi, carrying off a booty of \$600,000,000, — precipitated the fall of the empire. The Mohammedan governors, as well as the Hindu rajahs, made themselves independent, and carried on incessant wars among themselves.

The English and French eagerly took part in these conflicts of the native princes, with the end of establishing their own paramount influence. Dupleix was the more enterprising and intriguing. He succeeded in elevating a pretender, in alliance with himself, to the throne of the nizam of the Deccan, and in securing the aid of this powerful principality. Proud of his success, he interfered also in the conflicts which broke out in reference to the no less important

sovereignty of the nawab of the Carnatic, on the coast of Coromandel. Here the English supported Mohammed Ali, while Dupleix came to the assistance of his opponent, Chunda Sahib, with a French corps. The English were completely defeated, and shut up in Trichinopoly, the last stronghold of Mohammed Ali. Already the discouraged authorities in Madras were thinking of entirely evacuating Coromandel, inclusive of Madras itself, when a young lieutenant, Robert Clive, offered himself to head an attempt for the relief of Trichinopoly (1751).

Clive (born 1725) belonged to an ancient, but by no means opulent, family of the county of Salop. A wild, unmanageable boy, and averse to study, his father secured for him a subaltern position in the East India Company's service. In the conflicts with the French he had attained the rank of lieutenant; and now, when all desponded, he alone had the courage to volunteer to relieve Trichinopoly by a diversion. All the available troops were put at his disposal, — 200 English, and 300 sepoys, or natives disciplined by Europeans. With this little band he surprised and captured Arcot, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, and capital of the territories of Chunda Sahib. The latter despatched a great part of his army against him; but Clive defended himself with such heroism in the citadel of Arcot, that the besiegers were fain to decamp. This victory earned for England the alliance of several native princes. Soon afterwards Clive won victories in the open field over the hostile Hindus, and even the French themselves. The struggle, however, was ultimately decided by the incapacity of the French government, which left Dupleix to his fate, while fresh troops kept on reaching India from England. Clive was thus able to shut in the besiegers of Trichinopoly, and compel them to surrender (1752). After this important success, the English took possession of the greater part of the Carnatic. Dupleix was recalled, and, being unable to recover from the company any compensation for the expenditure of all of his fortune in its service, died in 1763, in want and misery. His successor in Pondicherry concluded, in 1754, a treaty by which the French surrendered all their late acquisitions in the Deccan and on its coasts, while to the English were ceded such extensive tracts of land that many millions of inhabitants were brought under their sway.

While matters were taking this shape in the East Indies, hostilities broke out between the French and the English in North America, and kindled a fire that was destined to spread over the world.

Thus the struggle between England and France had virtually broken forth anew while peace still nominally prevailed. When two French frigates were captured off Newfoundland (1755), the French ambassador was recalled from London. The English government issued letters of marque against the French commercial marine. Within two months 300 vessels and 7500 seamen were captured, with property to the value of 30,000,000 livres. The formal declaration of war could not be long delayed, and both governments began to look around for allies.

At the head of the English cabinet stood the Duke of Newcastle, a man of ambitious, but weak and unreliable, character, who with difficulty maintained himself against the opposition of the rising talents, among whom William Pitt and Henry Fox especially distinguished themselves.

William Pitt (born 1708) was the younger son of a wealthy country gentleman. While yet very young he was elected to parliament for one of the boroughs dependent on his family. Here he distinguished himself by his vividly figurative and fascinating eloquence, which he cultivated by a careful study of the ancient and modern classics. In strength, fire, and incisiveness of style, as well as in clearness of exposition, he had no one to equal him. His lion-like voice and commanding manner soon won the House of Commons; while his nobility of character, his sincere love of country, his contempt for the sordid or base, his enthusiasm for freedom, and his statesmanlike views were in harmony with his high intellectual endowments. Listening only to the voice of his convictions, he neither gave way before the prejudices of the people nor quailed before the displeasure of the king, who hated him accordingly. With him was inaugurated an era of a better and more vigorous life for England, which for forty years had been emasculated through effeminaey and immorality. It must, however, be acknowledged that he was masterful and theatrical in manner and of an incredibly nervous irritability. But those blemishes, essentially associated with his extraordinary powers, were lost sight of in the blaze of their brilliancy. What a contrast did his rival, Henry Fox, present to him! Descended from an old Jacobite family, but himself a friend of Robert Walpole, he was a profligate and unprincipled man, bent only on power and pleasure. Only with pains did he, as an orator, overcome his ungraceful deportment and manner of speaking. But his presence of mind, readiness in debate, his wit, and precision of state-

ment, made these weak points forgotten. Fox would have played a great part in the history of his country had his character been in keeping with his mental powers.

Newcastle recognized the necessity of winning one of these two great men for himself if he would retain his place. But Pitt persisted in carrying out his own views, which were far removed from the weak methods of Newcastle and the personal policy of the king, who had always the advantage of Hanover in view. So the duke preferred the more compliant Fox, whose easy conscience allowed him to accommodate himself to the minister and the monarch. In 1755, therefore, Fox became a member of the ministry.

The English government was then far from suspecting the intrigues which Maria Theresa, through Kaunitz and Starhemberg, was carrying on with France: although from the irritated mood of the Austrian statesmen, differences between them and England could not but arise. One of these occurred in regard to the Austrian Netherlands, where the empress sought to liberate herself from the restrictions on her commerce and her right of garrisoning imposed on her by the treaties in favor of Holland. Then the conversion of the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel to Catholicism gave occasion to England, in concert with Prussia, to exert herself to retain the children in the Protestant church, while Austria insisted that the prince should be granted the right of changing the religion of his land. Public opinion in England saw in the attitude of Austria the purest ingratitude and the unbounded arrogance of the house of Hapsburg. Yet the old bond of alliance was not so much shattered that on the beginning of the conflict between France and England, Austria did not in the first instance range herself on the side of Great Britain, and even labor to bring about direct alliance between her and Russia. The further the diplomatic negotiations advanced, the more palpably did the greatness of the antagonism between the views of the Vienna and London governments manifest itself. The latter saw in France its proper — nay exclusive — adversary, while Austria regarded Prussia as her most dangerous neighbor and foe. England expected, by the help of the Hanoverian troops and those of Austria and Russia to be hired by her, to constitute a Continental force that would overpower France. But for this it was absolutely essential to secure the neutrality of the Prussian sovereign, as otherwise he, in conjunction with Sweden, might confer the military preponderance on the Continent on France. The object of Maria Theresa and

Kaunitz, on the contrary, was to take advantage of the struggle between England and France to crush — with the help of Russia and Saxony — the king of Prussia. They even contemplated abandoning Belgium, to the maintenance of which the maritime powers attached the highest importance, to France, so as to be able to employ all the strength of Austria and its allies against Frederick. Under these circumstances, and as no one attached much importance to England as a land-power, the emperor and the rest of the ministry preferred observing strict neutrality. But to this Kaunitz would not listen. In his opinion it was better to resume their old plans, and attempt to win France by promising her half of Belgium, and the other half to a Spanish Bourbon, and besides this by holding out the prospect of the succession in Poland of the Prince of Conti, an arrangement sure to be acceptable to Pompadour, who much desired to see her rival, Conti, at a distance from Versailles. Beyond this, Kaunitz reckoned on the help of Sweden, Saxony, and the Palatinate, and probably on that of Hanover, which was to be won over through a share in the spoils of Prussia. This was the comprehensive plan to which Kaunitz got the assent of the empress on August 20, 1755.

Count Starhemberg had proposed it to Pompadour, as well as to her confidant, the young Abbé de Bernis (Fig. 6), an attractive, polished man of the world, who had nothing more of the ecclesiastic about him than the name. In the meantime, however, Pompadour would consent only to neutrality in respect to Austria, but by no means to an alliance against Prussia, which was still regarded by France as the ally most to be preferred. The news of the warlike acts by land and sea which the English were committing created the greatest excitement in France. Louis XV. decided on prosecut-



FIG. 6. — Cardinal Bernis. Facsimile of the engraving by Augustin de St. Aubin (1736-1807) ; after his own drawing. Original size.

ing the war with all the means at his disposal; and as England was the stronger by water, he preferred to exact revenge by the conquest of Hanover. With this view Frederick's alliance was held in high estimation in France, because this would keep Austria and Russia in check, while France played the master in the northwest of Germany.

In point of fact, Frederick did advise the French, in the spring and summer of 1755, to make themselves masters of Hanover, and by so doing force its royal elector, George II., to peace. But he himself, in order not to provoke the interference of Austria and Russia, and so bring about a general war, decidedly repudiated the French proposal that he should in person effect the conquest of Hanover. Nevertheless, he remained true to the French alliance, and, in the autumn of 1755, declined the repeated proffers of England. But the motive that decided his action came from Russia.

Under Austrian influence, the Czarina Elizabeth (PLATE IV.) concluded in September, 1755, an agreement with England to the effect that, in consideration of a subsidy of £1,000,000, she would place 70,000 Russians at the service of that country. This compact was only in appearance directed against France, in reality it was aimed at Prussia. The news of the agreement gave rise to a veritable panic in Berlin, dismaying even Frederick himself. On France he could place as little dependence as during the Silesian wars. The French envoy in Dresden, Count Broglie, showed himself entirely hostile to Prussian interests; and from his papers, which fell into Frederick's hands, it was evident that the Versailles government was on the eve of entering into an alliance with his enemy, Augustus III. of Poland. Meanwhile the king so sorely troubled was betrayed into what might have been a fatal error by the report of his envoy. He believed that Russia was not so intimately allied with Austria as it was dependent on English gold. He therefore thought that if he could form an alliance with England he would win Russia, and so compel Austria, thus isolated, to a peaceful attitude. Besides, he made a second mistake. He believed that the French government was so desirous of peace that it would not ally itself against him with the traditional enemy of its country, Austria. He himself, two years later, openly confessed that he had not taken proper account of the disposition of the great European powers, when in January, 1756, he concluded a treaty with England at Westminster, binding the two states to mutual protection of their possessions, and to permit no foreign troops on German soil.

PLATE IV.



Elizabeth Petrovna, Empress of Russia.

From a copper-plate engraving by G. F. Schmidt (1712-1775); original painting by
L. Tocqué (1695-1772).

History of All Nations, Vol. XV., page 40.

Too late came a French envoy-extraordinary, the Duke of Nivernois, to Berlin to consult with the king in regard to common war-like operations. Nivernois, a man of the most polished culture, of an upright, honorable disposition, and more highly esteemed by Frederick than any other French statesman, did not conceal from the king that France would consider the Anglo-Prussian neutrality compact as a violation of the Franco-Prussian alliance, which Frederick learned with somewhat artificial surprise. In order to appease the Versailles court and regain its favor, he offered, in case of France being assailed in her European domains, to support her with 10,000 men.

There was, indeed, a party in Versailles inclined to be satisfied with the king of Prussia's assurances, and to it belonged the foreign minister, Rouillé. In general, however, the authorities, whether in Versailles or Vienna, were not inclined to look on the situation with indifference. Austria feared, now that Frederick had placed himself on good relations with England, without dissolving his alliance with France, that she would be entirely isolated. Only the more earnestly, therefore, did Starhemberg press forward his negotiations with the French court, which he was able to do with the more effect because the Treaty of Westminster had affected it in a most sensible manner. France, fully conscious of her inferiority at sea, had set her hopes on a land war directed against Hanover; and were these to be disappointed by the action of Frederick? From January, 1756, the Abbé Bernis showed himself much more complaisant than formerly to Austria. Maria Theresa and Kaunitz would gladly, under such favorable circumstances, have brought about a war with Prussia, from which they hoped its annihilation. But in this the empress had not the sympathy of the cabinet of Versailles, which did not wish to see Austria omnipotent in Germany. Starhemberg had therefore to content himself with a defensive alliance. In reality, however, two treaties were concluded between Louis XV. and Maria Theresa at Versailles on May 1, 1756; the first — a public one — an entirely harmless neutrality convention, on the type of that of Westminster: and the second, and secret one, a defensive alliance between the two powers, pledging them to mutual support with 24,000 men, the present Franco-English war excepted.

The advantage in this agreement was, undoubtedly, on the side of Austria, who could call on France for aid against any assault, while

she was not required to mix herself up in the quarrel then pending between France and England. This Austrian alliance was altogether unpalatable to the French people. Here, for the first time in French history, the foreign policy of the dynasty was at variance with that of the nation. This Austro-French alliance, indeed, by bringing the king and people into collision, was one of the primary causes of the French Revolution. Immediately it imported the sacrifice of the French party in Poland, purchased and held together by French gold, the renunciation of the hope of seeing the Prince of Conti on the Polish throne, and the delivery of Poland to the arbitrary sway of Russia. For France herself it inferred the surrender of her entire influence in the east of Europe.

The Austrian diplomats looked upon the Treaty of Versailles only as the preliminary step for leading France on to an attack on Prussia. This became the more probable, as, in the spring of 1756, the war between England and France openly broke out, and that with great success on the part of the latter. The French made the occurrences of the preceding year the pretext for suddenly assaulting the isle of Minorca, ceded to England by the Peace of Utrecht. A very moderate fleet of ill-equipped ships was despatched under Admiral Byng to its relief, which, after an indecisive fight, drew away, leaving the island to its fate. The English garrison there had a few months thereafter to capitulate to the Duke of Richelieu (Fig. 7). The formal declaration of war between France and England had been made in the middle of May.

The excitement in England over these mischances was intense beyond measure. Newcastle offered the unhappy Byng as a victim to the popular fury, having him tried by a court-martial and shot. In all the commotion public opinion in England fully recognized the influence of the Treaty of Versailles, and was loud in its denunciation of the empress for her base ingratitude. And now England was to see the desertion of Russia also. As Starhemberg had made use of the mistress of the French king, so now Esterhazy, the Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg, without reserve availed himself of the favorite of the czarina, the young Ivan Shuvaloff. It now became clear how utterly Frederick had deceived himself in reference to the disposition of the Russian court. When Elizabeth heard that England had accommodated matters with Frederick she was infuriated to the last degree, and declared herself entirely ready to renounce the subsidies of the cabinet of St. James. Especially she



FIG. 7. — Louis François Armand du Plessis, Duke of Richelieu. Original painting in the Historical Museum at Versailles by Louis Charles Auguste Couder, after Pierre Maria Gault de St. Germain (1754–1822).

showed herself resolved to utilize the present condition of affairs to humiliate Prussia, and make her harmless. She even offered to reconquer Silesia for the empress-queen without the help of France, by placing 80,000 men at her service, in return for which she claimed East Prussia as her share of the spoils. To this Maria Theresa offered no objection, except that the combined attack on Prussia should be deferred till the year 1757, partly to give time for winning France over to join in it, partly because Austria's preparations, as usual, were not complete.

The Prussian king, who dreaded nothing from France and expected only good from Russia, subsidized by England, had firmly resolved to carry the Treaty of Westminster into execution, and to permit neither a French attack on Hanover nor an Austrian occupation of it. Gradually, however, his eyes were opened to the dangers to which he had exposed himself through that convention. He got tidings first from The Hague and then from two Saxon chancery clerks, whom he had bribed, of the perils by which he was threatened; in particular, of Russia's defection from the English alliance, and then of the gradual formation of a coalition against him. In the middle of July he learned, in the same underhand way, that Austria and Russia contemplated falling upon him simultaneously; and a mere glance served to show him that Austria was concentrating troops in Bohemia and Moravia, while Russia was massing her forces in the Baltic provinces.

On England's help Frederick placed little reliance, but he quickly brought his own strength up to 150,000 men. This done, he resolved to give his enemies no time to perfect their equipments, but to anticipate them by striking first the Austrians and then the Russians, thus dissolving the whole coalition before it became effective. By July, 1756, his mind was fully made up. "Maria Theresa *will* have war," he said, "and she *shall* have it on the instant. I can do nothing to meet it except by anticipating my enemies. My troops are ready, and I must try to break up this confederacy before it is too strong." He made believe, in deference to the wishes of England, that he desired to avert the odium of being the aggressor; and on several occasions asked the Viennese court about its purpose in arming, not, indeed, expecting a satisfactory answer or even a decisive one of any kind, but simply to stand as an evidence of his own moderation. In point of fact, the reply he received from the empress-queen, through his ambassador, was mena-

ing by reason of its very vagueness. "The critical condition of European relations generally," she said, "causes me to regard it as necessary to adopt measures for my own defence and that of my allies, but beyond this they will affect no one." This proved to Frederick that war was inevitable. On August 2 the first orders for mobilization were issued; and so perfect a machine had his army become, that within three weeks all the regiments, from the Rhine as well as from East Prussia, stood in Silesia and on the borders of Saxony, ready for action.

The true author of the Seven Years' War was not Frederick the Great. It originated with Maria Theresa, Kaunitz, and Elizabeth of Russia, who had each pursued a policy marked by animosity against Prussia. Frederick would have been a fool had he waited quietly until his enemies, after completing their preparations, precipitated themselves from all sides against him. Frederick erred only in regard to the quarter where he made the attack. The most natural thing for him to have done, as well as the most effective, would have been to throw himself upon the altogether raw recruits in Moravia and Bohemia, and, catching them unprepared, to destroy them by rapid blows. But he had been led astray by imperfect intelligence from Dresden. However, it was certain that the king of Poland and his minister, Brühl, had been intriguing incessantly in Vienna and St. Petersburg against Prussia; and that France and Austria had courted Saxony's adhesion to their alliance. Vaguely and inaccurately informed in regard to these circumstances, Frederick believed that Saxony had formally allied herself against him, and he resolved not to leave behind him an enemy only three days' march from Potsdam. He hoped to make the Saxons harmless by catching them unprepared, then to fall as unexpectedly on the Austrians and demolish them, and finally to offer his dismayed foes a peace on the basis of the treaties of Dresden and Westminster. But his sudden inroad into Saxony was unjustified, and also a great political and military mistake, constituting, probably, the sole cause for the undue protraction of the war, which was to be one of the most remarkable in modern times. To the Prussian people it gave an opportunity of winning, through valor, self-sacrifice, and endurance, a pre-eminent place in the world's history for themselves; to Frederick II., of developing an imperturbable greatness of soul and a noble constancy that classes him among the greatest of heroes. In this war was laid the foundation of the Germany of to-day.

CHAPTER II.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

ON August 29, 1756, the main Prussian army, 70,000 strong, commanded by Frederick in person, crossed the Saxon frontier, while nearly 30,000 men, under Field-Marshal Schwerin, covered Silesia against the Austrians, and another corps, under Marshal Lehwaldt, East Prussia against the Russians. The surprised and sorely perplexed Saxon court was able to get together only 4000 thalers for the mobilization of its army. Even in Vienna there prevailed the greatest alarm, and several members of the ministry advocated peace at any price. But Maria Theresa and Kaunitz remained steadfast. Frederick, on his part, experienced his first disillusion when the Saxon court did not lay down its arms at the first summons, but, instead of this, appealed to Austria for help, and concentrated its troops in an almost unassailable position on the heights between the Elbe and the Gottlenba Brook, opposite Pirna. Now was seen the full gravity of Frederick's error; for he had to make up his mind to starving the Saxons out, thereby losing the whole advantage of his bold initiative. Long and bravely did the Saxons defend themselves under a thousand privations, in the expectation that the imperial Field-Marshal Browne, with 35,000 men, would arrive from Bohemia to their relief. But Frederick advanced to meet Browne with one-half of his army, while the other maintained the investment of the Saxons near Pirna. The battle of Lobositz, on October 1, 1756, ended, after a stout resistance by the Austrians, in a victory for the Prussians, which was all the more creditable to them that they numbered only 24,000 men.

The defeat of the Austrians decided the fate of the Saxons, who, destitute of provisions of any kind, and now only 15,000 strong, had to give themselves up as prisoners of war. The common soldiers were forcibly incorporated in the Prussian regiments, from which they afterwards deserted in crowds. King Augustus III. had to withdraw to Poland, while his family remained behind in Dresden. The principality was treated as a conquered land, the magazines

were plundered, a Prussian administration was instituted in Dresden, and the public property and all taxes were confiscated for the use of Prussia.

Frederick had, indeed, opened the war more successfully than he hoped for. However, nothing was attained beyond the disarmament of Saxony. Frederick now had to go into winter-quarters, so that Austria gained time for completing her preparations for the next campaign. Thus Frederick's proper object in assaulting Saxony was entirely nullified, and it rather resulted in giving Austria occasion for declaiming against his lust for conquest and for calling on her allies for help.

In Versailles the dauphin's wife, a daughter of Augustus III., labored zealously, in conjunction with the Pompadour, to stir up hostility against Prussia. To this was added the fact that the French ambassador in Dresden, Count Broglie, was ultimately prevented by force from continuing his intrigues. This was accounted by France as a violation of the law of nations, and charged against Frederick accordingly, so that, although the great majority of French statesmen were averse to an Austrian alliance, diplomatic relations were broken off between France and Prussia.

And, to make matters worse, Frederick's last possible ally, England, under the guidance of the weak and incapable Newcastle, was in no condition to cope with a situation so weighty and critical. Neither in Europe nor America — whether by sea or land — did she show strength of any kind. In her transatlantic possessions, she met with a formidable foe in the highly gifted and capable Marquis of Montcalm, who captured the English forts on Lake Ontario, and made himself master of the whole region of the Great Lakes drained by the St. Lawrence. The English fleet looked on impassively while a French army, on the call of Genoa, landed in Corsica, and reduced it to a permanent French possession. Already Newcastle had made himself familiar with the idea of an ignominious peace; but here he found in parliament a vigorous opposition, which became stronger when Fox deserted the ministry. Unacceptable as the bold and independent Pitt was to George II., the latter was forced to give way before the rising wrath of the nation. Newcastle was dismissed and a new cabinet formed, whose soul was Pitt, as Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The new ministry set about providing adequate armaments, and paved the way towards placing an Anglo-Hanoverian army of 50,000 men in

Westphalia to combat the French there. Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Bückeberg, and Gotha troops were taken into English pay. Meanwhile, however, Pitt's situation at home became intolerable. While he lay sick, the king and his friends, the majority of the Lords, and all the adherents of the court, were at work against him. Finally, the Duke of Cumberland declared he would not accept the command of the allied army in Westphalia except on condition of the great minister's dismissal. So, in April, 1757, Pitt, to the universal regret of the people, left office, to be replaced by Henry Fox.

Such a weakening of the English government necessarily gave fresh heart to all the enemies of Britain and to those of Prussia. No one was more assiduous than the Viennese court, which labored with unflagging zeal for the ruin of its hated neighbor. In accordance with some vindictive decrees of the imperial Aulic Council, the diet at Ratisbon, on the motion of Austria, in January, 1757, declared war on Prussia.

The Czarina Elizabeth's bitter hatred to Frederick made it easy for the empress-queen to come to an understanding with her. On February 2, 1757, the two empresses entered into a new alliance by which each pledged herself to support the other against Prussia with 80,000 men—Russia, over and above, binding herself to operate with her fleet—till Austria should have recovered Silesia and Glatz, and Prussia should have been completely humbled. Denmark and Sweden were to be induced to co-operate with the female allies by the material advantages held out to them at the cost of Prussia.

Sweden swallowed the bait. In vain did her king, Adolphus Frederick, and his wife, Frederick II.'s sister, Ulrike, resist. As France and Austria were working in concert, the 'Hats' and 'Caps' in the Council of State united against Prussia, the liberal French subsidies stimulating their zeal. In vain was it shown that Sweden's religious interests ought to restrain her from a war against her ally in the faith, just as her political interests should prevent her from doing policeman's duty for her hereditary enemy and oppressor, Russia. On March 21, 1757, the alliance of Sweden with Frederick's enemies was signed. Frederick V. of Denmark, on the contrary, persevered in a wise neutrality.

But in France, King Louis and the Pompadour would hear of nothing but war in the grand style against England and Prussia. The last Treaty of Versailles no longer satisfied them. At the end of 1756, accordingly, Count d'Estrées was despatched to Vienna,

where he formally solicited an offensive alliance with Austria, and permission to employ against Hanover the 24,000 men promised her by France, and obtained it, but only on condition that France should maintain 10,000 South German soldiers in the imperial army. France took the electors of the Palatinate, Bavaria, and Cologne, as well as the Duke of Würtemberg, into her pay, whereupon their contingents joined the Austrian army. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who was in disagreement with Prussia in regard to some boundary offices, showed himself no less hostile. And yet the public sentiment in Germany, even in its Catholic portions, was thoroughly in favor of Prussia.

A world arose in arms against the little state. In Versailles, Austrian policy won triumphs more and more brilliant. The war minister, d'Argenson, as well as Machault, minister of finance and marine, were dismissed because they were opposed to unconditional surrender to the Austrians, and replaced by incapable creatures of Pompadour. Bernis, for his successful conduct of the negotiations with Austria, received the foreign portfolio. The abbé was, at bottom, a man of discretion, and would gladly have moderated the mania in favor of the Viennese court that had taken possession of Pompadour and the king; but, unfortunately, he lacked the strength of character and self-respect necessary for the adequate vindication of his views. He could do nothing but sigh when the Pompadour expressed herself as charmed by the extraordinarily warm friendship and respect which the strictly moral Maria Theresa constantly professed for her — courtesan as she was. Notwithstanding, therefore, Bernis's resistance, Kaunitz, by dint of unworthy flatteries, carried out his ends completely. On May 1, 1757, France and Austria concluded a second Treaty of Versailles — the so-called Partition Treaty — directed, not as French interests would have dictated, against England, but exclusively against Prussia; France thus losing sight of her proper mission in order to aid the empress-queen in plundering, or rather utterly ruining, her former ally. France bound herself to place 105,000 men in the field against Prussia, as well as to pay a yearly subsidy of twelve million florins till Austria had recovered the lost provinces of Silesia and Glatz. Besides this, the empress claimed the principality of Krossen with the adjoining circles; Saxony was to receive the duchy of Magdeburg and the principality of Halberstadt; Sweden, the part of Pomerania formerly belonging to it with Stettin; while Cleves, Mark, and Geldern, were to be dis-

tributed among the other allies of the two treaty-powers. In case of these cessions being realized, the empress-queen was to make over to France the seacoast of Flanders, with Nieuport and Ostend, as well as certain South Belgian fortresses and districts. After the first payment of subsidy, the French were to be free to occupy Nieuport and Ostend, on condition, however, of restoring these cities at the peace, in case Prussia should not be dismembered.

One sees from the treaties contracted with France and Russia that Maria Theresa's aim was not so much the mere recovery of Silesia as a wide extension of her domains through the annihilation of Prussia, and the aggrandizement by the same means of Russia, Sweden, and Poland. Already, in the beginning of 1757, she had made no secret to the French of her purpose of seizing still further districts of Prussia for herself, and of delivering over Belgium and Luxemburg, as well as the provinces of Prussia and Hither Pomerania, to foreigners. In the Partition Treaty Austria won a brilliant victory over France. The advantages which were to accrue to the latter power were unimportant as compared with the territorial aggrandizement of Austria through the disintegration of her Prussian rival, and the advantages which must come to her within the empire through the breaking up of this stronghold of Protestantism. So completely had Kaunitz and Starhemberg hoodwinked the Versailles government, that Austria was not required to declare war on England nor to pledge herself to keep her hands off the Porte, the protégé of France. This Partition Treaty was carefully kept secret; but at the beginning of spring, 1757, the French crossed the Rhine.

Frederick had spent the winter in Dresden, where, amid all the animosities of its court and people, and the heavy cares that stormed in upon him, he had refreshed his heart with artistic and literary recreation. Frederick's own heroic spirit buoyed him up in spite of all difficulties and dangers. But advices came in from all sides. He himself quailed before the dangers, the greatness of which he only realized when state after state joined the coalition against him. It was some consolation to him that in January, 1757, he concluded a treaty with England, in accordance with which a corps of 50,000 mercenaries in English pay and 20,000 Prussians was to be set on foot against France; England further promised to pay him a yearly subsidy of £1,000,000, and to send a fleet into the Baltic. But the treaty conditions were never fully carried out. As Frederick could not spare 20,000 soldiers from Silesia and Saxony, Eng-



Frederick the Great with his Generals.

From a copper-plate engraving by J. F. Clemens (1749-1831); original painting by E. F. Cunningham (1741-1795).

History of All Nations, Vol. XI., page 51.

land reduced the subsidy to £670,000, and detailed no fleet to the Baltic to keep Russia in check. The king had thus little more than his own right hand to trust to. Unweariedly and anxiously he prepared for the fearful struggle, his first care being for financial resources. Over and above the 4,000,000 thalers he had to look for from England, he raised a loan from his subjects, debased the coin, and imposed oppressive contributions on Saxony as well as on Mecklenburg, which he had occupied on account of the hostility of its prince. Through such means he was able to bring together a field army of 150,000 men, and also 60,000 garrison troops, organizing, over and above this, a militia somewhat analogous to the later Landsturm. The training and strict discipline enforced on the common soldiers, the promptitude and warlike spirit of the officers, the high military endowments and experience of the generals (PLATE V.) and, finally, the unparalleled capacity of the supreme commander, made this army the first in Europe.

But, notwithstanding all this, the enormously disproportionate strength of the enemy gave Prussia little ground for hoping for a favorable issue to the conflict. As the Hanoverian army numbered only 45,000 men, the king with his ally had but 195,000 men to place in the field. Against these Austria had 143,000; France, 134,000; Russia, 120,000; the empire, 32,000; Sweden, 22,000,—in all 452,000, or a proportion of seven to three. Frederick was prepared for the utmost exertion. On his minister, Count Finckenstein, he conferred a sort of dictatorship over the entire domestic administration. Besides this, he communicated to him well-considered and calmly elaborated secret instructions as to what steps he was to take for the rescue of the state and the royal family in the event of his army being defeated, the enemies pouring in from the south or east, or his being slain or taken prisoner. "Should it happen," he said in this most extraordinary document, "that I should be taken by the enemy, I forbid that the smallest regard be had for my person or the least attention paid to what I may write from my imprisonment. If such a mischance occurs, it is my brother who must be obeyed; and he, and all my ministers and generals, shall answer with their heads that neither a province nor ransom-money be offered for my redemption, but that the war shall be carried on as if I had never been in the world."

The king's plan was to make up for his inequality of force through a rapid and decisive initiative. Against Russia and France,

owing to their distance from the heart of his state, he had only to act on the defensive; but he resolved on precipitating himself with all his energy upon the Austrian army in Bohemia, dispersing it, and then, if possible, dictating peace on the walls of Vienna, for this was his ardent, sole ambition. At first all went well with him. In her capricious partiality, Maria Theresa intrusted the command-in-chief of her army to her often-defeated brother-in-law, Charles of Lorraine, who waited quietly in Vienna to see what his enemy would do. Frederick's tactics were to make his adversary feel secure through his feigned measures of defence; then, on a sudden, in April, 1757, he burst, with 117,000 men, in four corps, into Bohemia, Prague being the common objective point. The Austrians were completely surprised, and driven back with considerable loss on the Bohemian capital. Here they took up a very strong position to the east of the city, where Frederick attacked them on May 6, 1757. He concentrated all his strength against one of their wings, — the right, — which, however, re-enforced from the second line, offered a vigorous resistance. Field-Marshal Schwerin, who led the attack in person, fell with the flag of his regiment in his hand. But when the Prussians outflanked the Austrians' position on the right, and their last strong intrenchment was carried, the imperialists fell into confusion. The Austrians lost 13,250 men. Frederick had won a victory, indeed, but at a dear price; 12,500 men belonging to his most tried regiments lay on the field. Most painfully did he feel the loss of the distinguished Schwerin. As the greater part of the defeated army and its leader, Prince Charles, threw themselves into Prague, the king determined to adopt the extremely daring plan of capturing the fully demoralized force by investing the city.

Meanwhile, however, new energy manifested itself in the Austrian generalship. Field-Marshal Daun, a circumspect, capable man, set himself to organizing the troops that streamed to him from all parts of the empire into a fresh army. Frederick at first refused to believe he could effect this, and did not make up his mind to taking measures against the fresh enemy till it had attained its full strength. Daun was thus enabled to advance at the head of 55,000 men to Kolin, within a few miles of Prague, where the king at length confronted him, on June 18, with 34,000 men. The fate of the whole war depended on the battle. A new victory for Frederick implied the annihilation of the last imperial army, the capitulation of Prague,

and, probably, peace with Austria. As the Austrian position was so strong in front as to be unassailable, he decided on making his attack with his whole army on the right flank, and so rolling his enemy up. But as Prince Maurice of Dessau and General Manstein blunderingly led their corps against the Austrian front, these troops remained ineffective and remote from the proper point of action, while, the Prussian cavalry being repulsed and reduced to inaction, the battalions which were to deliver the decisive assault received no support, but were compelled, after heroic resistance, to give way before the immensely superior force which Daun, with true instinct, instantly hurled against them from all his reserves. The Austrians paid for their victory with 8,000 men; the Prussians lost 14,000 of their best infantry. Yet it was wonderful how soon the king's elastic spirit rallied itself from its state of depression. But the ultimate consequences were more serious than the defeat itself. For the first time the Prussians, under Frederick, had come out the losers. His enemies, who had been all but ready to lay down their arms, arose with renewed confidence against him. Especially Maria Theresa now looked with fresh hope for the downfall of her hated foe.

Stunning blows fell upon Frederick's head from all sides. First, he had to give up the siege of Prague, and retire, not without heavy losses, from Bohemia. His brother Augustus William, heir-apparent to the throne, conducted the withdrawal of the blockading corps in the most unskilful manner, and had to leave the army in disgrace. In four months Frederick had lost 50,000 of his infantry, whom he could never replace.

Meantime, the Russian army, 124,000 strong, under Field-Marshal Count Apraxin, invaded Prussia, where there were only 28,000 soldiers, under the aged Field-Marshal Lehwaldt, to oppose him. At Frederick's command the latter boldly attacked the superior force of the Russians at Grossjägerndorf on August 30, 1757. Ultimately, indeed, the old warrior was repulsed, but not without inflicting on the foe a loss threefold his own. Almost simultaneously with this, a Swedish army, 24,000 strong, landed at Stralsund, whence it pressed into Prussian Pomerania, where it found scarcely any one to impede it. Still greater was the danger with which the country was threatened from France.

The tidings of Frederick's glorious victory before Prague, together with the indignation and shame at its own defeats, had inspired the

English nation with such a frenzy for war that George II. felt himself forced to consent to the formation of a coalition ministry, with Newcastle as nominal premier, but with Pitt as secretary of state and real leader. This ministry had almost the whole parliament on its side, and Pitt's high merits soon won for him the confidence of the sovereign also. He determined to fight France above all in Europe. That the Belgian seaports should not pass into the possession of France, and that Russia should not fall under French influence, was a matter of life and death for English commerce.

In April, 1757, 110,000 Frenchmen, under Marshal d'Estrées, had, without meeting with any resistance, poured over the Rhenish and Westphalian possessions of Prussia. The Duke of Cumberland had only a mixed army of 52,000 troops, brought together from various quarters, to place against the superior French force; and he showed himself to be a completely incompetent general. At Hastenbeck (July 26, 1757) he, without any reason, gave up as lost a fight really won by his brave soldiers, and then, evacuating all northwest Germany, retreated behind the impassable swamps near Bremervörde. It was fortunate for Frederick that just at this time the brave d'Estrées, through a court-cabal, was superseded in the command-in-chief of the French army by the Duke of Richelieu, a man of no military capacity. But if Richelieu was not diligent to pursue the Hanoverians, he was at least able to take possession of and pillage the electorate and Brunswick. At length he completely hemmed in Cumberland on the Lower Elbe. On September 8 the English prince was fain, through Danish mediation, to enter into the convention of Closter-Seven, by which his confederate troops were to be sent home, and the Hanoverians interned in Stade and its surrounding district. George II., always anxious about Hanover, made an offer to Vienna to neutralize the electorate; and though the imperial government, flushed with its success, rejected the proffer, nevertheless all resistance was at an end in North Germany. Brunswick formally abandoned the Anglo-Prussian alliance, and went over to Austria. The all-powerful coalition was everywhere triumphant.

Frederick was furthermore stricken down with severe family affliction through the death of his dearly-loved mother. He was deeply shaken, and at times thought of seeking death on the battlefield. But his heroic spirit enabled him to surmount all the misfortunes that had assailed him during the last fifteen months. The

cowardly proposition of his brother Henry, that he should cast himself unconditionally into the arms of France, and sacrifice Silesia, found no acceptance with him. He opened, however, at one time through the instrumentality of his sister, the Margravine of Bayreuth, at another through that of Marshal Richelieu, secret negotiations with the cabinet of Versailles. He even offered Pompadour Neuchâtel and Valengin for life; but when France demanded the restoration of Silesia to the empress, he refused. "There is no crown," he wrote to Wilhelmina, "and no throne that I would purchase, by base humiliation." What enabled him to bear up under his trials was love for his country and people. It was a merey for him that, just at this time of dire extremity, Bestuzheff began to aim at a change in the policy of Russia, moved in part by English gold, in part by regard to the Prussian sympathies of the heir-apparent to the sick czarina. When her death was thought to be approaching, Bestuzheff summoned his friend Apraxin from Prussia, who thereupon led his army, in a completely disorganized state, into Lithuania.

The danger in the east was for the moment removed; but that from the west became continually more threatening, so Frederick resolved to meet it first. "To deliver the state," he wrote to d'Argens, "I will attempt and dare impossibilities."

And he did dare them. Leaving the Duke of Bevern behind him with 43,000 men for the defence of Saxony and Silesia, he marched with only 20,000 for the west, to meet the French. But Bevern proved in no way competent for the great task of withstanding the Austrian army of 90,000 combatants under Charles of Lorraine. At Moys, in September, 1757, Winterfeldt's corps was defeated, and this distinguished general and trusted counsellor of the king slain. Bevern retreated from Lusatia and Silesia till he arrived under the walls of Breslau, thus giving up the strong fortress of Schweidnitz, which, with its garrison of 6000 men, capitulated to the Austrians. At length, on November 22, Bevern's army, now only 30,000 strong, fought its way through the 80,000 soldiers lying before Breslau under the Prince of Lorraine, Bevern himself being taken prisoner. Even the Silesian capital capitulated without resistance worthy of the name. Thus the greater part of Silesia was lost, and the Prussian army there reduced to only 18,000 men.

New foes appeared against Prussia, whose ruin every one looked forward to with certainty. By the beginning of August, the army of the empire was at length got together; in melancholy condition,



FIG. 8. — Charles de Rohan-Rohan, Prince of Soubise. After Massard. (Original painting in Versailles, Historical Gallery.)

indeed, and for the most part Prussian in heart, but still a re-enforcement of 33,000 for Frederick's antagonists. In Prince Joseph of Saxe-Hildburghausen it had an appropriate commander. To drag this inert mass along, a French army 24,000 strong, under the Prince of Rohan-Soubise (Fig. 8), a favorite of Pompadour, was joined to it. The French troops were without supplies, and competed with their avaricious generals in stealing and plundering. Soubise and Hildburghausen broke into Thuringia, and advanced upon Leipzig, while at the same time Richelieu, who, in virtue of the Closter-Seven convention, had no longer an enemy before him, wasted the principality of Halberstadt with fire and sword. The Austrian general Haddick made a raid on, and levied contributions from, Berlin itself. Prussia lay open on all sides to its enemies. The Ratisbon diet felt itself so much emboldened that, in October, it put the elector of Brandenburg under the ban.

When Frederick appeared with his little army in Thuringia, Soubise and Hildburghausen retired before him, while Richelieu — occupied partly in negotiations with the king, partly in striving after still more riches, and in sensual indulgences — remained wholly inactive. Ultimately the first two commanders got orders from Vienna and Versailles to wrest Saxony, at least, from the enemy in this campaign. They were in all the better condition to do this, as they had been re-enforced by a corps of Richelieu's army to 64,000 men, while Frederick had exactly one-third of this number at his disposal. Notwithstanding this, the king, on November 5, surprised the French as well as the troops of the empire, near Rossbach (Fig. 9), by a sudden assault on their right flank. The onset of the Prussian cavalry under the brave Seydlitz (Fig. 10), supported by a few battalions of infantry, sufficed to scatter the enemy. The French and imperialists behaved equally badly, only a couple of Swiss regiments in French pay maintaining any sort of order. The Prussians lost a little over 500 men; their enemies, ten times that number, mostly as prisoners. The defeat led to the separation of the discomfited armies, Hildburghausen withdrawing southwards, and Soubise towards the west. Thus both were rendered harmless.

The battle of Rossbach raised the fame of Frederick higher than ever before. All Germany was jubilant over the glorious victory won by the small Prussian host over the arrogant French, for centuries long the oppressors of the fatherland. Even in France itself — where the Austrian alliance was not less detested than were the

Pompadour and her creatures — the defeat of her clique was heartily enjoyed, and made the subject of endless lampoons.

But Frederick saw in his victory only the possibility of addressing himself to other foes. Either the Austrians must be driven out of Silesia or he must give up that province forever. And yet he led only 34,000 troops, while Charles of Lorraine commanded 80,000. But Frederick had under him an army sternly resolved on victory or death. The king hurriedly made a short will, and then addressed

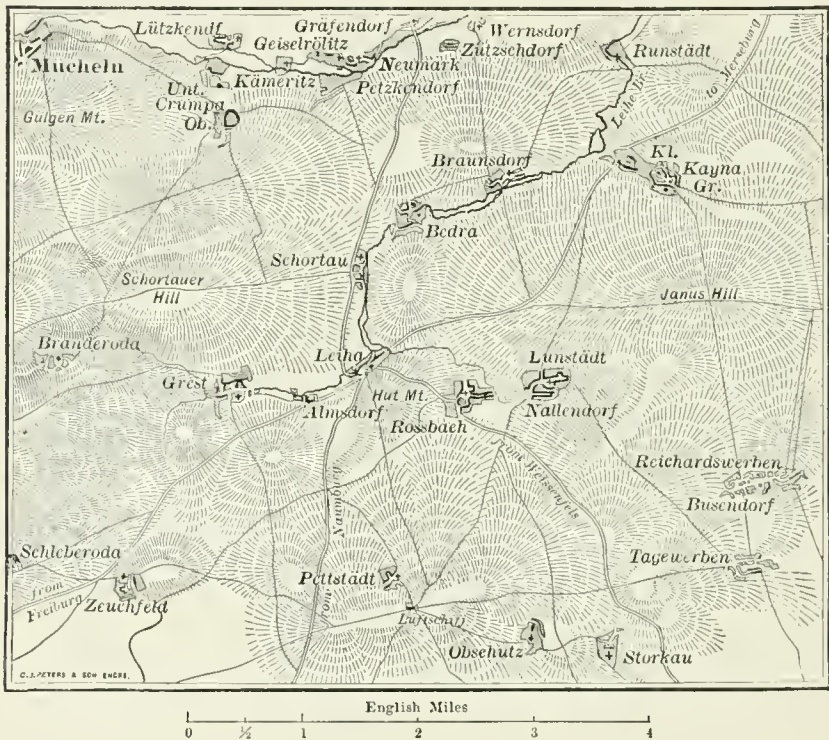


FIG. 9. — Map of the vicinity of Rossbach.

himself to the attack on the Austrians, now occupying an extended and comparatively unprotected position near Leuthen (December 5, 1757). Leading them to believe that he was about to attack their right wing, and thereby inducing them to re-enforce it, he marched around behind a range of heights, against their left wing, whose position he stormed, in oblique battle-order, in front and flank. The wing was utterly routed before the other portions of their army could take part in the fight. These last, already shaken, were at-

tacked by the Prussians flushed with victory, and were rolled upon each other, and driven off the field in precipitate flight.

This splendid victory, of which Napoleon said that it alone enrolled Frederick among the foremost commanders of all time, was, in fact, the most glorious in all his career. The Prussian loss of somewhat over 6300 men was grandly counterbalanced by 10,000 Austrians left on the field and 12,000 prisoners. Lorraine's army was completely demoralized; many thousands deserted, or gave themselves up as prisoners. Only 35,000 soldiers, and more than the half of these sick, did Prince Charles bring back to Bohemia. Fourteen days after Leuthen, Breslau capitulated with more than 17,000 imperialists. Before the end of 1757 all Silesia, with the exception of Schweidnitz, was again in the possession of the Prussians. Even Maria Theresa's firm and masculine spirit began to waver. At length, after the withdrawal of the Russians, Marshal Lehwaldt turned to Pomerania, and drove the Swedes not only out of the Prussian domains, but also out of their own, with the exception of Stralsund and the island of Rügen. Frederick already hoped for a speedy end to the war.

In Germany everyone was jubilant over these brilliant victories over the Swedes and French, as well as over the Croats and Pandours, Magyars, and Slovaks of the Hapsburg double-eagle. The higher officials, the officers, the experts, and the 'wise folk' still shook their heads over the situation, and, like Frederick's own brother, reprehended the king most severely. But the great mass of the people looked at him and his army with enthusiasm.

In England, also, Frederick was the idol of the people. Here Pitt's administration began under the gloomiest auspices, — new losses in America, the miscarriage of a costly enterprise against the



FIG. 10. — Baron of Seydlitz. (From a copper-plate engraving by D. Berger.)

French harbor of Rochefort, increasing expenditure and debts. The English admirals and generals everywhere showed indecision, and, if not physical, at least moral, cowardice. Pitt himself became so discouraged that he solicited an alliance with Spain at the high price of the restoration of Gibraltar. But the news of the convention of Closter-Seven especially had roused the highest indignation in Britain, the ministers roundly threatening the king that they would do nothing more for Hanover. The danger that France might become mistress of the whole Continent, to the exclusion of English trade, was a special cause of excitement. George saw his offers of neutrality rejected by Austria, and, realizing that his electorate was to be rescued only by vigorous prosecution of the war, supported Pitt in his exertions. On his return, Cumberland laid down all his military dignities. For Frederick, the 'Protestant hero,' on the other hand, the enthusiasm was unbounded. The streets of London were aglow with illuminations for the victories of Rossbach and Leuthen. Frederick's birthday was celebrated with no less festivity than that of their own king. And in Pitt, Britain possessed a minister of character strong enough to turn this enthusiasm to account for the good of his country and ally. Fortunately the French themselves, by not ratifying in due time the convention of Closter-Seven and violating some of its conditions, gave the English government a pretext for declaring it abrogated. For commander-in-chief of the Anglo-German army Pitt selected Ferdinand, the duke (properly only prince) of Brunswick, a man of fine culture and upright, generous character, qualified, besides, by familiarity with the practice and theory of war, to discharge the duties of the high office in a conscientious, circumspect, yet resolute manner. With promptitude Ferdinand welded his 32,000 men into a firmly organized army, and drove the French, negligently led by Richelieu, and altogether demoralized by the example of the incapable, discordant generals, across the Aller. The French soldiers were unpaid, unvictualled, unsupplied with clothing or tents, and encouraged to plunder by their officers that the latter might buy their booty from them for trifling sums. Under such circumstances Charles, the reigning duke of Brunswick, permitted his brave troops to remain with the allied army.

This year of the war, so full of vicissitudes, closed with the defeat of the Austro-French plans everywhere. Frederick's states to the right of the Weser were once more freed from the enemies

that had threatened to ruin them, and that mainly through his own well-directed exertions. For the French occupation of the Rhenish and Westphalian provinces he had abundant compensation in the possession of Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Swedish Pomerania. But this result he had purchased by the sacrifice of his brave army. Scarcely 40,000 men remained to him of the 120,000 with whom he took the field eight months before. Meanwhile the enemy were equipping themselves with all energy to resume next year their schemes for his annihilation.

And France would have done better to direct her attention to another quarter, where her own interests were imperilled to the last degree by the British; namely, to India. Here Siraj-ud-Daula, nawab of Bengal, in name only a subject of the Mogul sultan, had, for several reasons, taken up arms against the British. In the year 1756 he captured Calcutta, their capital in Bengal, and on June 20 shut up 146 English prisoners in the 'Black Hole,' a dungeon eighteen feet square, to be suffocated in that confined den by foul air and heat; only 23 were alive next morning. Clive, with only 900 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys, marched to take revenge on him. In the beginning of 1757 Clive recaptured Calcutta, and surprised the immense masses of Siraj-ud-Daula, which he utterly routed. Intimidated by this defeat, the nawab concluded an alliance of friendship with the English, thus putting them in a position to make themselves masters of the French settlement in Bengal, Chandernagor. But when the nawab renewed his intrigues with the French, Clive marched against him with 1000 Europeans and double that number of Sepoys. Although Siraj-ud-Daula commanded 50,000 soldiers, Clive, in June, 1757, attacked him near the village of Plassey, and utterly routed him. This easily-won victory of Plassey established England's sway, not only in Bengal, but over all India. From that day the Hindus began to recognize the English as their destined lords and masters, and to submit to them on the first summons. In place of Siraj-ud-Daula, Clive appointed, as nawab of Bengal, Mir Jaffir, who had his luckless predecessor put to death, while to England he ceded the whole Bengal coast as far inland as Calcutta. In this way the English East India Company acquired here, as they had already done in the Deccan, a territory of wide extent, with many millions of inhabitants.

These successes gave fresh courage to all hearts in England, and Pitt's energetic measures were applauded everywhere. The Lower

House, with only one opposing vote, voted a grant of £10,500,000 for the energetic prosecution of the war. England could afford to make such a sacrifice, inasmuch as, notwithstanding the war, industry and commerce prospered as never before. Pitt felt that he must get rid of the lax and incapable generals, and replace them by men of more ability and resolution. Nor was he less inclined to support Frederick, but with gold only; while the latter asked for an English corps to occupy Pomerania and East Prussia, and an English fleet for the Baltic. But Pitt, in order not to disturb the English trade with Russia, refused to break directly with that state. After long negotiations it was agreed that an English garrison should secure Emden, the harbor and capital city of East Friesland, for Prussia, while Frederick should acquiesce in the English help being only pecuniary. In the subsidy compact of 1758 England promised to maintain an army of 55,000 men for the protection of Hanover and northwest Germany against the French, as well as to make a direct yearly payment of £670,000 to Prussia.

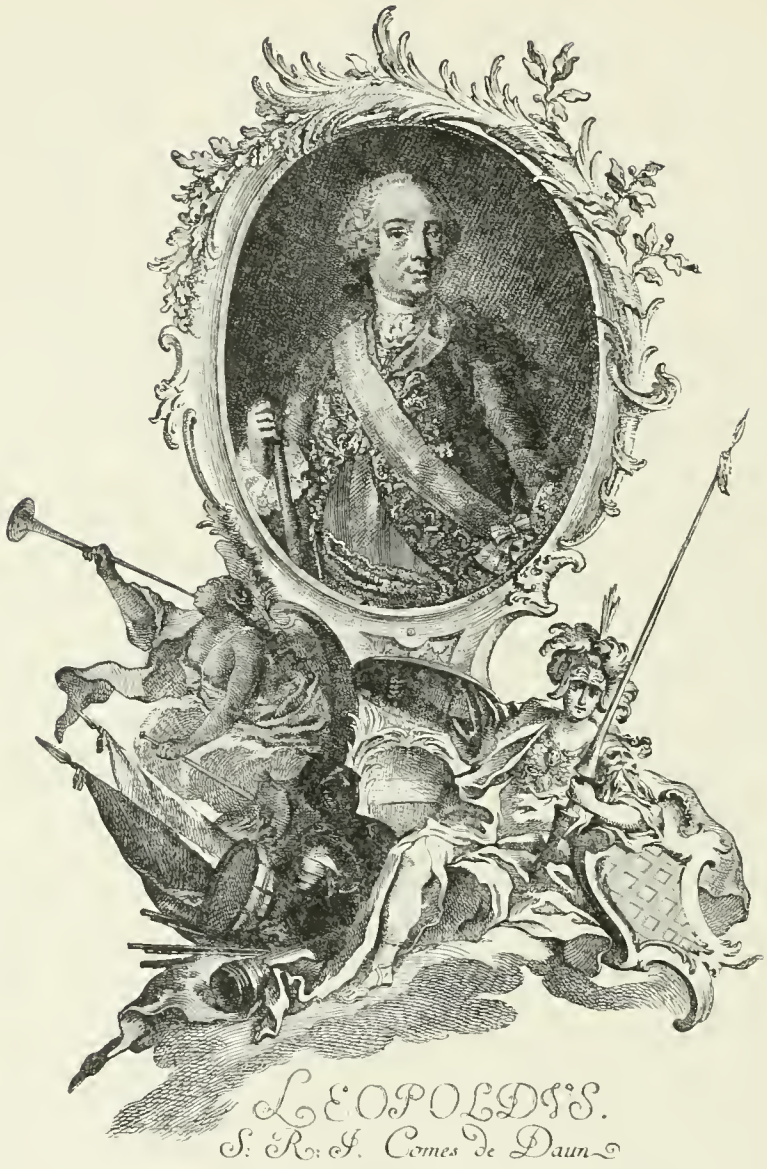
In point of fact, Frederick had need, not only of a supply of money, but also of a re-enforcement of his army. The Czarina Elizabeth unexpectedly recovered, and, moreover, detected Bestuzheff's intrigues. In justifiable wrath she made him and his friend Apraxin prisoners, and had them sentenced to death, whereupon Bestuzheff was banished to his estates, while Apraxin was kept in prison till his death, which occurred shortly after. A rival of Bestuzheff, the Vice-Chancellor Woronzoff, had now the guidance of affairs, and in conformity with Elizabeth's wishes loyally supported Austrian interests. General Fermor, an only moderately qualified but an honorable and brave officer, in January, 1758, received orders again to invade East Prussia, which he not only took possession of, but caused to do homage to his empress. Frederick had, for the first time, to give up that remote province, environed by Polish territory; yet he never forgave the readiness with which it yielded to the Russians. His prospects for the future seemed to him gloomy enough.

Meanwhile the various Austrian lands vied with each other in patriotic exertions to raise for their empress-queen a new army, which by the spring amounted to 120,000 men. As commander-in-chief, Charles of Lorraine was definitely superseded by the victor of Kolin, Field-Marshal Daun. Maria Theresa had rallied from her temporary despondency, and was now more determined than ever to continue the struggle to the utter abasement of Prussia. But a

directly contrary feeling prevailed in Paris. The shameful defeats of the French troops, the incapacity of their generals, the anarchy in the administration, France's growing financial exhaustion, and the overthrow of the Austrians, combined to make Count Bernis now as despondent as he had formerly been light-hearted and confident. In Vienna he urged peace with increasing earnestness. But as he did not venture to speak with absolute decision, the Austrian statesmen, relying on the Pompadour, heard his desponding representations with evasive coolness.

For France the war assumed an aspect which was not creditable. Her army in western Hanover, in Hesse, and Westphalia was so ill-cared for, and its hospitals so scandalously neglected, that in the hard northern winter it lost nearly half of its strength through sickness. Richelieu, whose thefts and general rapacity had given occasion to so much scandal, was recalled. But Pompadour was no happier in the choice of his successor, the Count of Clermont, a scion of royal blood and Abbot of St. Germain. This clerical general retreated in the very beginning of the operations before Ferdinand's columns of only half his strength, over the Weser, and then, in April, 1758, over the Rhine. In all this he suffered severe losses; in prisoners alone 16,000 men. And his flight was all the more ignominious that it took place when the French had not ventured a battle. The discord between Paris and Vienna became more and more pronounced. A single defeat of the Austrians would have broken up the great alliance. Besides, the two foremost Austrian generals, Daun (Fig. 11) and Laudon, were at sword's points.

Meanwhile Frederick was in no position to take full advantage of the favorable conjuncture. By making use of all the means at his disposal, he had indeed once more brought together an army of 210,000 men, far from equal in quality, however, to that of the preceding year. In order not to deplete it of its best elements through a great battle, he refrained from attacking Daun in Bohemia; but after recapturing Schweidnitz, he advanced into Moravia, and laid siege to its capital, Olmütz. But his army was too weak to carry on a siege, and at the same time repel the advancing 70,000 imperialists. Then, besides, the engineer corps was altogether incapable. The able and energetic General Laudon,—a Scotchman by descent, though born in Livonia,—after a successful engagement, got possession of a great Prussian wagon-train laden with provisions,



LEOPOLDVS.
S. R. I. Comes De Daun

*S. Cæs. et Reg. Hung. et Boh. et Ung. Supremus Campi et Marschallus.
Eques aurei Villeris et Archicomendator Ord. milit. Theres.*

FIG. 11. — Count Daun. From a copper-plate engraving by J. E. Nilson (1721–1788). original painting by Martin van Meytens (1695 or 1698–1775).

ammunition, and money. This heavy loss compelled the king to give up the siege of Olmütz, as well as all thought of seizing Moravia, in place of which, in order to intimidate Daun, he pushed on toward Bohemia. While the imperial commander was tardily following him thither, Frederick disappeared, and, with part of his army, advanced by forced marches against the Russians.

General Fermor slowly advanced through Polish West Prussia towards the Neumark of Brandenburg, the boundary of which he did not cross till August. He besieged Küstrin, harrying and wasting the surrounding country in the most terrible manner. This barbarous foe Frederick resolved to drive forth from the heart of his states. Leaving the main body of his forces, he marched with one corps upon the Neumark, in order to form a junction with the troops lying there. He made the passage of the Oder with 32,000 men with success within view of the Russians 55,000 strong, and on August 25, 1758, encountered, near Zorndorf, the far superior enemy, which had with all speed raised the siege of Küstrin. The thick masses of Russian infantry, supported by an admirable artillery, defended themselves with tenacity against the Prussians. Not till charged upon by the matchless Prussian cavalry, led by Seydlitz, the hero of Rossbach, were they constrained to retreat (Fig. 12). Fermor left the Neumark, but this was only a momentary advantage. In his all but desperate situation Frederick could hope for success only through a decisive victory.

Again the king had to turn to another quarter, and begin his task anew. Daun and the new leader of the army of the empire, the Prince of Zweibrücken, threatened Saxony. The Austrian field-marshal retired before the rapidly approaching Frederick, and intrenched himself in unassailable positions in the neighborhood of Görlitz. Frederick, unduly trusting to Daun's indecision, pitched his camp, without due caution, near Hochkireh, over against the two-fold stronger imperialists. Here Daun surprised him on the morning of October 14, 1758. The Prussians, who defended themselves with admirable coolness and dexterity, lost but few more men than the Austrians, but were defeated, and forfeited nearly all their artillery and baggage. The excellent generals, Keith and Maurice of Dessau, were slain. Almost at this moment died Frederick's dearly beloved sister of Bayreuth. In his despondency he composed a funeral oration on her death and his own melancholy situation. Fortunately for him Daun did not follow up his victory with vigor;



FIG. 12. — The first Russian prisoners in Berlin, 1758, by Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki (1726-1801). To the right, the artist himself and his wife.

while Frederick, with the elasticity proper to him, rising superior to defeat and private grief, set out for the relief of the Upper Silesian fortresses invested by another Austrian army. Scarcely had he driven this forth when he returned to Saxony, driving Daun back to Bohemia, and Zweibrücken to Franconia, where they took up their winter quarters. The king's other adversaries had no greater successes to show. Fermor, after the retreat from Zorndorf, betook himself to Pomerania, to besiege Kolberg, which however, was so valiantly defended by its citizens and its little garrison, under the gallant Major von Heyde, that the mere approach of a Prussian corps from Saxony drove the Russian general over the Vistula. The Swedes, who had spent the whole year in marching and counter-marching, were at its close driven into Stralsund with considerable losses.

Thus the Prussian forces, in the course of their incessant movements from the Warthe to the Fichtelgebirge, had not only beaten the enemies out from all Prussia, but also maintained Saxony and Mecklenburg.

In this year, too, France — to the sacrifice of her own true interests — had employed her main force in the German campaign. Notwithstanding the fact that Clermont commanded double the number of troops that his antagonist, Ferdinand, did, he was not able to prevent the latter from crossing the Rhine at Emmerich, but, dismayed by the result of an engagement near Rheinberg, retreated without further resistance to Cologne. There the desponding French prince received his king's peremptory orders to advance. Thus compelled, he obeyed, but only to be totally defeated by the weaker Brunswickers near Crefeld (June 23, 1758). The victorious cavalry squadrons scoured Belgium up to the gates of Brussels. At the same time the English fleet appeared before several of the French seaports, bombarding them, and destroying supplies and ships. The universal enthusiasm aroused in Britain by Ferdinand's successes, at length moved Pitt to send over English national troops to re-enforce him. But this re-enforcement was not so strong as it ought to have been. The main French army was now increased to 72,000 men, and had, moreover, the competent Marshal Contades as its commander. Soubise, with another 30,000, invaded the defenceless province of Hesse. To meet all these, Ferdinand had scarcely 45,000 combatants; he therefore again crossed to the right bank of the Rhine. Contades followed him, and sent 20,000 men to re-

enforce Soubise, who now, at Lutternberg, overthrew the Hessian general, Oberg, weaker by a half than he. The Rhine and the Main remained at the end of the campaign in the power of the French, — for them a truly moderate success, as the lands of their enemies had in no respect been intrenched upon.

The true advantage of the German war was reaped by England — on the sea and in her transoceanic colonies. It appeared as if all Europe were fighting to insure Britain's greatness and Britain's wealth. France, by the one-sided employment of her strength in the interests of Austria, weakened herself completely on the maritime and the transmarine theatres of war. The English, with impunity, plundered the French coasts, destroyed the harbor of St. Malo, and, through their more powerful squadrons, closed the sea to French shipping; and they were able to interdict to all nations traffic with the French colonies. By the seizure of the colony of Senegambia, Britain won the last African possession of France. Still more brilliant triumphs did England gain in America.

Only in India did advantages seem likely to accrue to France, and that through the energy and abilities of a single individual. In the spring of 1758, there had landed at Pondicherry, with a slender force, to act as governor-general, Lieutenant-General de Lally-Tollendal. His ardent spirit led him to undertake at once the siege of St. David's, the strongest English fort on the Coromandel coast. After compelling this to surrender, he, without a moment's delay, proceeded to assail Madras; but the envy and disfavor of his own countrymen, which were to frustrate all his schemes, were already operating to thwart his efforts here.

The third year of the great European contest came to an end without any of the parties having attained decided success. The Russian aid had proved no gain to Austria and France, while, on the contrary, the conquests of the English in America had been of advantage to the enemies of the allies. And as these were made at the expense of France, who bore the greatest part of the costs of the war, this outlay soon became burdensome to her. Her maritime trade, which had yielded a clear profit of two hundred millions, no longer existed; the credit of her merchants as well as that of the government was most deeply shaken. No wonder that Bernis made offers of peace in Vienna and even in Berlin; but he only injured his own position. Pompadour regarded the Austrian alliance as her own special work; and Louis himself wished to acquire the sov-

ereignty of Belgium for his daughter and his son-in-law of Parma, which was only to be effected through the conquest of Silesia. Bernis, endowed, by way of consolation, with the purple of a cardinal, was deposed from his office in October, 1758, and replaced by



FIG. 13. — Duke of Choiseul. After a copper-plate engraving by Pierre François Basan (1723–1797).

the Duke of Choiseul-Stainville (Fig. 13), a Lorrainer, envoy at the papal, and then at the Austrian court, and a spirited, adroit, and eloquent statesman. Enlightened, and of an open, straightforward character, Choiseul was, however, somewhat fantastic in his schemes,

troubling himself little about practical details. His origin and training inclined him towards the house of Austria. Bernis remained for a time minister without a portfolio, but was, in December, banished to one of his abbeys.

Pompadour was rewarded for the loyalty she had shown to the Austrian alliance by an immediate token of regard from the rigidly moral empress-queen, — namely, by the latter's portrait set in costly brilliants, worth 80,000 livres.

But the wishes of Maria Theresa were not realized to their full extent. Choiseul was too much on the alert to shut his eyes to the utterly negative results of the Austrian mode of making war, as well as to the despoiling of the Parisian government by that of Vienna. Where Bernis had complained, he acted. He forced the empress to conclude two new treaties (December 30, 31, 1758), in which she no longer insisted on France's guaranty for the restoration of Silesia and Glatz, nor on the placing of a French auxiliary corps at the disposal of the Austrian army, while the subsidy supplied yearly by France was reduced from twelve to three million florins. The latter country, however, pledged herself to placing an army of 100,000 men in Germany, and so took a most active, and, for her own interests, a most prejudicial, part in the German war.

In the meantime Pitt had succeeded in restraining George II. from entering into a neutrality convention for Hanover with Austria and France. With honorable constancy Pitt declared in parliament that he would give back all England's conquests in America, if this were necessary, to bring back to her ally, the king of Prussia, whatever losses he might sustain.

However, Frederick spent the winter in Breslau in a sad enough frame of mind, but preparing with incredible pains for the impending campaign. Even the subsidies of England, with the taxes imposed upon Saxony and Mecklenburg, were insufficient to supply the 12,000,000 thalers demanded by the war. Frederick had recourse to the very equivocal expedient of a general debasement of the coinage. In spite of this he had to reduce his army by 30,000 men. His best officers and soldiers had fallen in his previous campaigns, while the army of Austria, with her dependent lands of 15,000,000 inhabitants to draw from, was constantly full. The king believed that, under such circumstances, he must renounce the offensive, and limit himself to the defensive everywhere. But such a mode of warfare was altogether strange to him, and little in accord with his temperament,

so that occasionally he consoled himself with literature. While arms were at rest, he assailed his enemies with a series of brilliant anonymous satires, in which he exhibited the many-sidedness and keenness of his intellect in a wonderful way. Sometimes, in order to expose the pernicious views of his antagonist, he speaks in the character of the secretary of Count Kaunitz; sometimes, as a Swiss professor, with the view of winning the sympathy of neutrals for Prussia; sometimes, as Princee Soubise, he writes to Marshal Daun, in order to deride the pope, who sent a consecrated sword and hat to the Austrian commander. Where do we find the example of a king, who, threatened with complete destruction by numberless foes, had elasticity of spirit and nerve enough to make his enemies the laughing-stocks of Europe by satirical pamphlets?

Maria Theresa, who had brought up her army to 200,000 men, wished, above all else, to anticipate the total desertion of France. For this reason she resolved to make this campaign a decisive one, and to this end the Russians were to co-operate with her. According to Daun's scheme, the latter were to advance from the Vistula to the Oder, cross this river, and form a junction with the Austrians at Krossen. By this the Prussian king would be compelled to give up Silesia. Meanwhile, the movements of the Russians were impeded, not only through Fermor's antipathy to the Austrians, but also through a bold *coup de main* of the Prussians. In February, 1759, the latter made an incursion into the republic of Poland, and totally destroyed the magazines which the Russians had established there.

Ferdinand of Brunswick — whose army had been augmented to 70,000 men, while opposed to him there stood 100,000 French, under Contades and Broglie — at first undertook operations on a somewhat large scale. Broglie had, in the beginning of the year, occupied Frankfort with the army of the Main. Ferdinand made an effort to wrest the city from the French, but was, if not defeated, at least repulsed by Broglie at Bergen, April, 1759. More fortunate was Princee Henry of Prussia, who, in a successful incursion into Bohemia, destroyed seven imperial magazines, of the value of 600,000 thalers, and killed, or took prisoners, 3000 enemies; and then, pressing forward into Franconia, drove the imperial troops before him, and levied contributions to the amount of nearly a million thalers. Through these bold operations the imperialists were reduced to quiet, especially as they had in any case to await for the co-operation of

the Russians. At length, in July, the determined will of the czarina compelled the latter to move forward; the aged and incapable Count Peter Soltikoff being the nominal commander-in-chief, who, however, left the actual leadership to the abler and more resolute Fermor. Frederick had intrusted the watching of the Russians to his highly valued General Wedell, on whom he conferred the special dignity of a dictator. Wedell attempted to prevent the Russians' junction with the Austrians; but his 30,000 men were repulsed with considerable loss by Soltikoff's 70,000 at Kay, in the neighborhood of Krossen. The Russians now marched upon Krossen and Frankfort-on-the-Oder, while Daun invaded Silesia, whence he despatched 20,000 combatants, under Laudon, to the help of his allies. At the same time the army of the empire burst into Saxony. In this extremity Frederick resolved to evacuate the latter country for a time, save the main fortresses; to intrust the guardianship of Silesia to Prince Henry; and to join Wedell's corps with his best troops in order to make the Russians and Laudon harmless. With a force of 47,000 men, he, on August 12, 1759, boldly attacked the enemy, 80,000 strong, at Kunersdorf, to the east of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and succeeded, though with great loss, in capturing the strong positions of the Russians. But when his exhausted and thinned infantry assailed the Russo-Austrian reserve, under Laudon, they were repulsed, and finally totally routed, his army losing more than a third of its number. After such a disaster, even the king's strong heart began to quail. In vain had he sought death on the field of battle; his clothing only was pierced with balls. It would now, indeed, have been in the power of the Russo-Austrian army to give the final blow to the weak and utterly demoralized Prussian army, and so end the war with the destruction of Prussia. But the Russians — all classes of whom were thoroughly anti-Austrian at heart — were not inclined to do anything more for their calculating and ease-loving allies. Not without justice did Soltikoff complain to Marshal Daun that he, in violation of all agreements, had refrained from uniting with the Russians, and so prevented the annihilation of the hostile army. He told him he had not carried out any single resolution, and, therefore, he (Soltikoff) could not, in reliance on him, take up his winter-quarters in the enemy's country. In the middle of September, Soltikoff withdrew to Glogau. In order to appease his temper, Daun attempted to join him with a strong corps; but Prince Henry was able, by rapid marches, to compel the over-cautious marshal to

retreat, in which Soltikoff and Fermor saw treachery on the part of the Austrians. When Frederick, to whom the unexpected deliverance from the apparently inevitable ruin had restored the elasticity of his spirit, advanced against the Russians, with his hurriedly re-organized little army, the latter refused to risk a new sacrifice. In spite of energetic orders from St. Petersburg, the council of war resolved on retreating to the Vistula. In vain did Laudon urge a diversion to Breslau to scare Frederick back from the Austrian boundary. Ruthlessly devastating all that came in their way, the Russians returned to East Prussia. The consequences of the battle of Kunersdorf were, nevertheless, most serious. The despondency was so great, that General Schmettau, without more ado, surrendered Dresden to the enemy. And a greater disaster followed.

General Finck, in whom Frederick placed the greatest confidence, had, with only 12,000 men, driven 36,000 of the enemy out of Saxony, Daun's main force holding Dresden alone. But when the king, rendered over-confident by his recent successes, despatched Finck's little corps to operate in the rear of the field-marshal, with the view of forcing him to evacuate the principality, Daun threw himself upon the little band, in the end of November, 1759, and compelled them to surrender as prisoners. This defeat at Maxen was, in reality, more disastrous than the defeat of Kunersdorf. It gave the Austrians courage again, and raised the empress-queen's hopes and determination to continue the war to the bitter end, while it shattered the negotiations for peace just entered upon.

In territory, the king had lost in this campaign only Dresden and the country lying between that city and the Bohemian frontier; nevertheless, it had been very calamitous for him. The year 1759 had shown that even his own powers suffered under the incessant labor and excitement; that the newly organized regiments and the recent generals were no longer equal to the old ones; that it was no longer possible to defeat a greatly superior force of the better disciplined enemies with weak corps; in short, that Frederick must ultimately be crushed between his over-powerful antagonists. Ever after this time of misfortune the king's character was embittered, and he became acrimonious and unlovable. The terrible consciousness that to his own errors was due the loss of so many tried companions in arms continually preyed on his spirits. It was some sort of compensation for Frederick's defeat, that, on the other theatres of war, fortune had not smiled on the arms of his adversaries.

The Swedes, 15,000 strong, had first broken into Pomerania, entirely denuded of troops, and into the Uckermark, which they had all but exhausted through money contributions and requisitions for supplies. But when, after the withdrawal of the Russians, they saw themselves assailed by 3000 Prussians under Mantuffel, they, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, retreated with all haste to their own country.

But especially brilliant had been the campaign of Ferdinand of Brunswick. Choiseul had entered on the new year of the war with the most magnificent designs. Contades and Broglie were, by a vigorous assault, to take possession of the electorate of Hanover, while in all the seaports of France warships and transports were being built in order to convey to Great Britain 70,000 French soldiers, by whom the island was to be reduced to humiliating subjection. The means for these stupendous undertakings were found by the new finance minister, Étienne de Silhouette. To elevate France, in place of England, to the position of the first colonial and naval power, and so to secure for her the hegemony upon the ocean as upon the land, was this man's grand idea. In order to carry this out, he required a large accession to the state receipts; and this he secured, in a most adroit and appropriate way, by making the farmers of the revenue and other financiers permanently disgorge a portion of their enormous gains, and employing this new source of income as the basis of a loan. In view of such gigantic schemes of attack, Pitt remained perfectly tranquil, conscious that England's power was quite adequate to cope with them. Calling out the militia of the whole island, he kept his fleets cruising off the French seaports so as to prevent the junction of the various French squadrons. At length the French Mediterranean fleet was successful in putting out from Toulon, but only to be overtaken by the British admiral, Boscawen, off Lagos, on the Portuguese coast, and to be in great part destroyed (August, 1759). With no less energy did Admiral Hawke drive the Brest fleet into the Bay of Quiberon, and nearly annihilate it. France had to make up her mind to renounce further resistance by sea.

Nor did the French experience better fortune in the land war. After Broglie's victory at Bergen, the two French generals invaded Hesse and occupied it, and then, turning towards the Weser, seized Minden, the principal fortress on the course of that stream. But Ferdinand now called a halt on their proceedings; and while his

daring scouring-parties compelled Contades to weaken himself by sending out numerous detachments, he met the attack of the French main army at Minden (August 1, 1759). Ferdinand's adroit manoeuvres, the not irreproachable behavior of the French troops, and the jealousy of Broglie, who left his superior commander, Contades, without assistance, combined to give the victory to the allies. Only the criminal inactivity of Lord George Sackville, general of the English cavalry (who was afterwards tried for it by court-martial), saved the beaten army from entire disintegration. Through the battle of Minden, Westphalia and Hanover were delivered from the fate of being 'converted into an utter wilderness,' which the French minister of war, Belle-Isle, had designed for them.

Pursued by the allies, Contades retired first to Hesse and then to Nassau. In vain did King Louis and Belle-Isle urge him to resume the offensive, and to take up his winter-quarters in some German province. Officers and soldiers were completely demoralized, and would hear nothing more of a war in Germany. At length Contades was recalled, and replaced by his rival, the Duke of Broglie. This fiery and enterprising general promptly adopted the offensive. But his attempts all proved fiascos; in particular, the newly organized Württemberg corps of 12,000 men—sold to the French by their tyrannical duke, Charles Eugene—entirely disbanded itself. After several unsuccessful engagements, Broglie had to retire still farther than his predecessor, and take up his winter-quarters on the Rhine and the Lower Main.

Scarcely better was the fortune of the French in India. Mutiny amongst his own soldiers, want of supplies, and the approach of an English fleet, had compelled Lally-Tollendal to raise the siege of Madras. And while the French fleet (Fig. 14), after an indecisive fight with the English, returned, without further effort, to the Isle of France, English re-enforcements landed, under the brave and enterprising Colonel Eyre Coote, who at once began operations by the capture of several of the enemy's forts.

These discomfitures affected the French all the more sensibly on account of their desperate financial situation. All Silhouette's schemes and labors were shipwrecked through the enormous demands of the war, carried on simultaneously in the four quarters of the globe, and through the incapacity and rapacity of the administration. The year 1759 closed with a deficit in the French exchequer of 217,000,000 livres. As a permanent remedy for the

financial disorders, Silhouette sensibly proposed a comprehensive income tax and a sweeping tax on luxuries. But this called forth the opposition of the self-seeking proprietary classes, which found

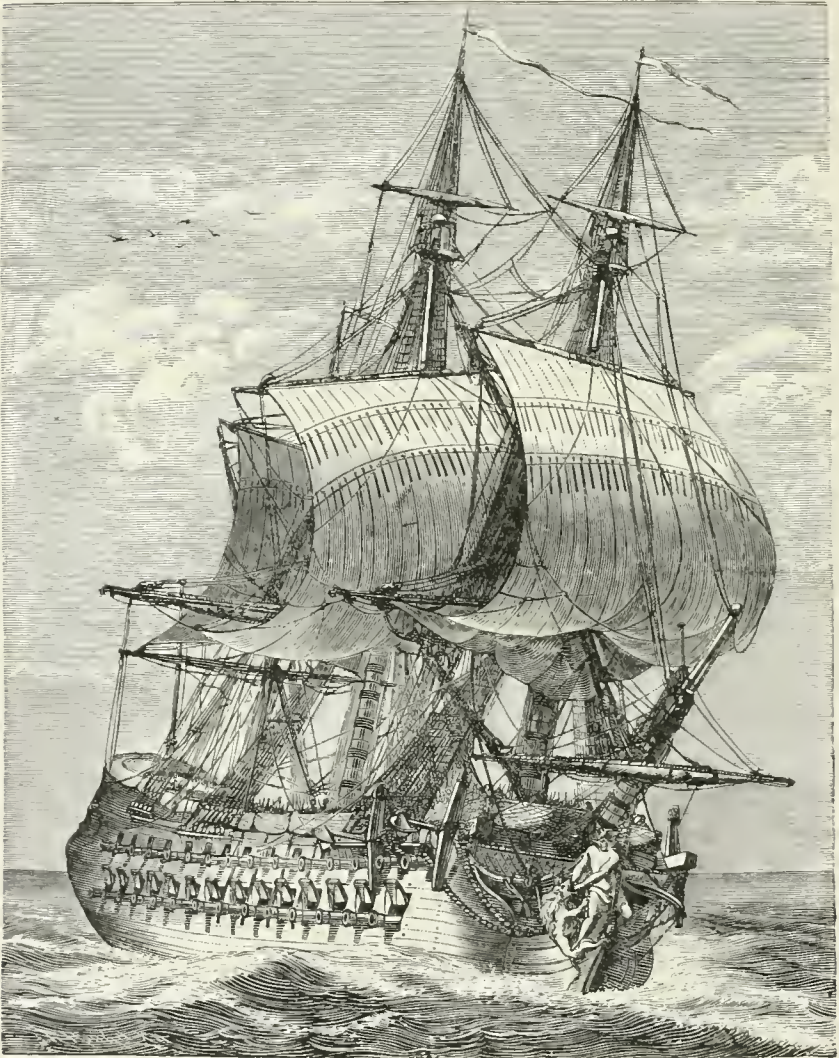


FIG. 14. — The "Hercules," French frigate of fifty-eight guns. (Drawn by Ozanne.)

energetic and effective expression in the Parlement of Paris. It was at this time that the frivolous Parisian society gave the name of 'silhouettes' to those black shadow-pictures which gave only the outlines of the figures without any details. The weak, character-

less Louis XV. recoiled before the hostile attitude of the court. In November, 1759, Silhouette was, after a short term of administration, dismissed, and replaced by Bertin, hitherto a lieutenant of police, who, indeed, left the leading circles in peace, but thereby brought the financial crisis momentarily nearer.

Choiseul recognized that peace — especially with its most powerful enemy, England — was an urgent necessity for his country; and he was strengthened in this conviction by the new sovereign of Spain.

Ferdinand VI., the second son of King Philip V., was, no less than his father, of a gloomy, melancholy temperament, often completely hypochondriacal. Only the voice of an Italian singer, Farinelli, had power to charm him out of his moods; and to him he intrusted the greatest share in the administration of the state. The wretched sovereign died in the summer of 1759, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Charles, hitherto king of Naples, who now made over the latter kingdom to one of his sons, under the guardianship of the trusty Tanucci. Charles III., for twenty-five years an enemy of Austria, wished, even against the will of Maria Theresa, to mediate a peace between France, Prussia, and England. The two latter kingdoms had anticipated him by already issuing invitations to a congress at Ratisbon. Representatives of the five main belligerent powers met there, in November, 1759. But the whole business went to pieces on the obstinacy of Austria and Russia, who would not recede a hair's-breadth from the annihilation of Prussia. Choiseul saw with regret this result of the conference, implying, as it did, the destruction of Prussia as a state, the omnipotence of Austria in Germany, and the consequent exclusion of French influence from the whole land, the supremacy of Russia over the whole North, the destruction of Poland, and the subjection of Sweden. To change this situation, so dangerous for France, through energetic intervention, Choiseul did not think himself in a position to attempt, inasmuch as his hands were tied by the treaties. However, he was anxious at least to put an end to the disastrous war with England, and offered her a separate peace under the most alluring conditions. Such a peace would have delivered Prussia into the hands of her over-powerful foes, and made her ruin inevitable. George II. and Newcastle were inclined to listen to the French enticements, and leave their ally to his fate. Pitt alone has the honor of having spared Frederick this extremity, and England the ignominy of a violation of her treaty.

Meanwhile what France had dreaded came to pass. Russia demanded dictatorially compensation for her services in the war, through the surrender to her of the province of East Prussia. Kanitz was unable — if he would continue the struggle with Prussia — to refuse the claim. In April, 1760, Austria and Russia concluded a new agreement, by which, in case of Silesia and Glatz coming into the possession of the former, the czarina was promised the province she required. Further, Austria made the proposal to make over this province immediately to the crown-prince, Peter, until he, by ascending the Russian throne, could incorporate it in his own empire; in return for which Peter was to give his Gottorp portion of Holstein to Denmark, whereby the latter kingdom would be won over to co-operate against Prussia.

The new compact chained Russia faster than ever to the Austrian alliance in the war against Frederick, who, if he had not possessed the greater part of Saxony, would have been in no condition to conduct a new campaign. So this unfortunate land had again to raise 5,000,000 thalers for the Prussian army. Nevertheless, Frederick was able to bring into the field only 90,000 troops against 120,000 Austrians, 60,000 Russians, 20,000 Swedes, and 20,000 soldiers of the empire, in all 220,000 men.

Only his wonderful elasticity of spirit saved the king. The thoughts of suicide, which sometimes assailed his soul, soon vanished. In his winter-quarters he wrote odes and epistles, which rank with his best literary efforts, as well as "Observations on the Character and Military Talent of Charles XII. of Sweden." A man of such greatness of soul misfortune might bend, but it could not break. Then there came again biting pamphlets; amongst these six letters in which Phihihu, agent of the Chinese emperor in Europe, gives derisive expression to his views in regard to the affairs of Europe. The irrepressible humor prevailing in this satire gives no indication of the author's sense of the dangers by which he was surrounded.

And yet the opening of the new campaign was again marked by fresh misfortune. In order to deliver the fortress of Glatz, besieged by the bold and enterprising Laudon, Frederick sent General Fouqué with 11,000 men to Landeshut to threaten Laudon's communications in his rear. But the Austrians now knew how to make use of their superior power. With a force of threefold strength, Laudon threw himself upon Fouqué's men, whom he either slaughtered or made

prisoners (June 23, 1760); only 1500 men escaped. It was a repetition of the affair of Maxen in the previous year. After the engagement, Laudon seized Glatz, whose garrison he also made prisoners; and he contemplated a like lot for Breslau, which he immediately set about investing. But here General Tauenzien, with only 4000 men, defended himself with heroic bravery, till ultimately Frederick arrived from Saxony to his relief. On the other hand, Daun joined Laudon, and arrayed 90,000 men against Frederick's 30,000, — a disproportion still greater than that before the battle of Leuthen. The Russians, whom their marshal, the old and bitterly anti-Austrian Soltikoff, had delayed as long as possible, had at length arrived in Silesia, and were with difficulty held in check by the weak corps of Prince Henry. The king resolved to put an end to the intolerable situation by a battle. He had been informed that Daun had said: "The sack is open, we need only to close its mouth to make the king and his army prisoners." Smiling, Frederick replied: "All right; but I think we shall make a hole in the sack." While Daun was making elaborate dispositions to encircle him, Frederick threw himself at Liegnitz (Fig. 15), August 15, 1760, on Laudon's division, which he completely routed, the Austrian loss amounting to 11,000 men, the Prussian to only a third of that. Daun did not venture on anything more, but retreated without further resistance.

The battle of Liegnitz, in which Frederick displayed his full military genius, rescued the Prussian army; it did more than this, it restored to it, after the constant mischances of the last two years, confidence in itself and in its great leader. But further practical consequences, by reason of the enemy's vast superiority in strength, it could scarcely have. "In other times," the king writes to d'Argens, "the affair of the 15th would have settled the campaign; to-day it is nothing but a scratch. Only a great battle can decide our fate. It is herculean work that I have to accomplish, and that at an age when my powers are deserting me, and sickness more and more taking possession of my body, and, to tell the truth, when hope, the sole consolation of the unfortunate, begins to fail me. You are not sufficiently informed in regard to the condition of affairs, to realize all the dangers that threaten the state. I know them, and conceal them from the world."

The king's letters shed a clear light upon the situation and his mental condition. Surrounded by powers ten times stronger than Prussia, — by fifty-five millions as against five and one-third mil-

lions,—his heroic struggles might indeed delay the annihilation of his state, but could not prevent it. In order not to discourage entirely the brave men still true to him, and not to fill his triumphant foes with the confidence of victory, he had to hide his anxieties from the world, and to bear a countenance expressive of cheerful self-confidence.

The enemies pressed into his territories from all sides. While he drove Daun back to Bohemia, 40,000 Austrians and troops of



FIG. 15. — Liegnitz and Vicinity.

the empire, under the Prince of Zweibrücken, entered Saxony, and, driving the weak Prussian corps there before them, took possession of nearly the whole electorate. Ultimately the Russians, too, rallied themselves to two undertakings,—a renewal of the siege of Kolberg and a predatory raid on Berlin. The former, through the indomitable courage of the garrison and the citizens, proved unavail-

ing, till the approach of a small Prussian division induced the Russians to withdraw. The raid upon Berlin was more successful. Without resistance the allies were able to take possession of the city. The citizens of Berlin and Potsdam had to make up a contribution of 2,000,000 thalers, and royal property to double that value was destroyed. After four days, the king, approaching by forced marches, frightened the enemy away, the damage done being only material.

Frederick gave himself no rest. In point of fact, it was an unconditional necessity for him to drive the enemies out of Saxony, without whose contributions in money and recruits he would have been unable to continue the war. He marched, therefore, to the Middle Elbe, the enemy retreating with all speed before him. But Field-Marshal Daun, on the peremptory order of his court to maintain Saxony at all costs, advanced against him, and took up at Torgau a position naturally strong, and by his orders carefully fortified, on the heights of Süptitz. Although Frederick had but 40,000 men to set against the 60,000 Austrians, he determined on an immediate attack. His plan was for General Zieten (Fig. 16), to make a feint upon the too strong southwest front, while he himself, with the greatest part of his army, assailed the north side of the imperialists' position. Although his most desperate efforts were unavailing to carry the heights, they gave Zieten time in the deep darkness of a late autumn evening (November 3, 1760) to storm the hill commanding the field of battle. Daun, who had already despatched couriers to Vienna with tidings of a victory, had now, himself wounded, to beat a hasty retreat. The Austrians had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, nearly the half of their army, 24,000 men; the Prussians, some 13,000. The victory of Torgau enabled Frederick to hold Saxony with the exception of the district of Dresden. Even Maria Theresa began to doubt the issue of the struggle.

The Swedes had made their wonted inglorious campaign of marching and counter-marching.

And yet, notwithstanding his two victories, Frederick's cause did not progress. No momentary success was longer of avail to save him. The Austrians had won Glatz, and with that a secure base of operations against Silesia, while the Russians occupied a part of Pomerania and of the Neumark within a few miles of Berlin.

The year had proved still more unfavorable for Duke Ferdinand. He had this time to oppose him an energetic and able adversary in



HANS IOACHIM
Königlicher Preulcher
Chef eines Regiments Husaren
Erb Lehn und Genosch



geboren den 10. März 1729

VON ZIETEN
General der Cavallerie
des Schwarzen Adlers Ordens Ritter
Herr zu Wüstrow

FIG. 16. — Hans Joachim von Zieten. From a copper-plate engraving, 1782, by Daniel Berger; original painting, 1769, by Anna Dorothea Therbusch (1728–1782). Zieten's bear-skin cap, with the brass eagle-wings and his panther-skin, are now kept in the Hohenzollern Museum in the Palace of Monbijou at Berlin.

the Duke of Broglie, who having at length attained the object of his ambition, the sole command of the French army, had now under him no fewer than 120,000 men. Against this force, Ferdinand could place only 75,000 in the field. He resolved, therefore, to restrict himself solely to the defensive. Through adroit movements, however, Broglie was able to break suddenly into poorly guarded Hesse, to defeat the hereditary prince of Brunswick (July 10, 1760) at Korbach, and take possession of Cassel itself. Duke Ferdinand, who had meanwhile defeated, at Warburg, a French corps detached to Westphalia, endeavored to save Hesse by a diversion, by sending his nephew, the hereditary prince, with 30,000 men to the Lower Rhine, thus threatening Broglie's communications as well as the Belgian territories. But the prince, through the tedious investment of Wesel, lost precious time, till the French general, de Castries, arrived, and defeated him at Kloster-Camp (October, 1760). Ferdinand's direct attempts at attack on Hesse failed similarly: so that Broglie was able to penetrate all the more easily into southern Hanover, seize Göttingen, and maintain himself there. The enemy had thus inflicted serious damage on Frederick's confederates.

The defeat of the French in the American colonies was of no advantage to Frederick. The cabinet of Versailles year after year lavished its resources of men and money in useless wars on the Main and Weser, and incapacitated itself for defending its colonies against the attacks of England.

In the East Indies the Marquis of Lally-Tollendal was left entirely without support from France, and was unable to withstand his brave and capable adversary, Colonel Eyre Coote. He was decisively defeated by the latter at Wandewash. As the battle of Plassey delivered Bengal to the English, so did that of Wandewash deliver over the much-contested Carnatic. All the places in this district occupied by the French were taken within a short time: and then their last and main settlement in India, Pondicherry, was besieged, and after six weeks surrendered.

As in North America, so also in the East Indies, the French power was completely and forever subverted. The French East India Company had soon after to dissolve. The much sought after and lucrative East India trade was now in the hands of England exclusively, a sufficient compensation for all the sacrifices she had made in the course of this war.

It is the custom of France to ascribe all the misfortunes that

befall her to individuals, and so free the nation from all responsibility for them. Lally-Tollendal, who had developed very considerable abilities, and who had been only the victim of the incapacity of the central government, and the spiteful intrigues of those about him, was, on his return, cast into the Bastille, and after he had lain there for fifteen months was condemned for high treason and executed — one of the most scandalous legal murders of all time.

Thus at the end of the fifth year of the war, the results of this terrible world-struggle seemed to be the annihilation of Prussia, and, in compensation, the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race over every quarter of the globe. But the former result could be avoided, and the latter maintained, only if a Pitt continued to sit at the helm of the English ship of state. But this condition, so essential for the continued existence of Prussia and for the permanent continuance of a policy honorable and advantageous to England, was becoming more and more doubtful.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEACES OF PARIS AND HUBERTSBURG.

AMID a profusion of successes and triumphs, such as no English king of modern times had experienced, George II. died of apoplexy, October 25, 1760, in his seventy-seventh year. His son Frederick had died before him, wherefore he was followed on the throne by his grandson, George III. (Fig. 17), now in his twenty-third year. The new sovereign was a young man of sincere piety and honorable disposition. He led an exemplary family life, and by so doing gave an example to the aristocracy and citizens generally, which effectually checked the corruption and immorality which had prevailed in England for more than a generation. But George was at the same time dictatorial and obstinate, determined to be king, not in name only, but in reality, and to make his will everywhere authoritative. Want of training and experience contributed to make this purpose of his prejudicial to the state. A Scottish nobleman, John Stuart, Earl of Bute, a master in the art of intrigue, but otherwise devoid of every statesmanlike quality, had, with crafty calculation, flattered the autocratic tendencies of the prince. Through these base means Bute had secured an absolute influence over the young king. He was jealous, above all, of the position and merits of William Pitt: and to overthrow him, and take his place, was the object of all his efforts. With this end, the whole political system which this great minister had built up must be overturned, his work subverted, the war brought to a close, and peace concluded at any price. Bute easily impressed these views upon George III., because the king was born and brought up in England, and therefore cherished but little interest for Hanover, and regarded the firm and bold character of Pitt as standing in complete opposition to his own autocratic longings.

All this meant serious dangers for Frederick II., otherwise so sorely threatened. If England withdrew her hand from him, and refused her subsidies, the ruin of the king and his state was inevitable. But this catastrophe did not occur immediately. George III.

and Bute did not feel themselves, for a time, in a position to overthrow a minister who had raised the fame and the power of the kingdom to an unexampled height, and who had the enthusiastic support



FIG. 17.—George III., King of England. Reduced facsimile of an engraving, 1772, by Richard Houston (1728-1775); original painting, 1771, by J. Zoffany (c. 1733-1810.)

of the whole nation. Recourse must be had to intrigue. For the moment George gave evidence of his unlimited confidence in Pitt's

administration, so that the latter was convinced that he would be permitted to carry out his policy till the conclusion of a peace. The speech from the throne demanded the vigorous prosecution of the war, to meet which the English budget was increased to the then unparalleled sum of £20,000,000 sterling, among the war expenses being the customary subsidies to the king of Prussia.

But the latter was more clear-sighted than Pitt. He regarded all this as only a postponement of the evil day which he saw to be inevitable. In order to divert his mind, Frederick caused his private orchestra to be summoned to Leipsic, where he lay in winter-quarters. With it came his faithful body-musician, Fasch. The latter found his sovereign prematurely aged, his mind tinged with a melancholy little in harmony with his former cheerful and genial nature. Even the playing of his beloved flute had become distasteful to him, so that he had almost entirely given it up. "The everlasting turmoil," wrote Frederick to his esteemed friend, the Countess Camas, "has made me so old that you would scarcely know me. On the right side of my head the hair has all become gray; my teeth break and fall out; and my face is wrinkled like a lady's crumpled petticoat; my back is bent like that of a monk of La Trappe." In Leipsic he sought to make the acquaintance of Gottsched and Gellert. But these were not the men to cure his low opinion of the literature of his country.

Amid all his cares a star of hope now dawned upon him. The peace negotiations which had proved so fruitless in former years appeared at length to take a palpable form.

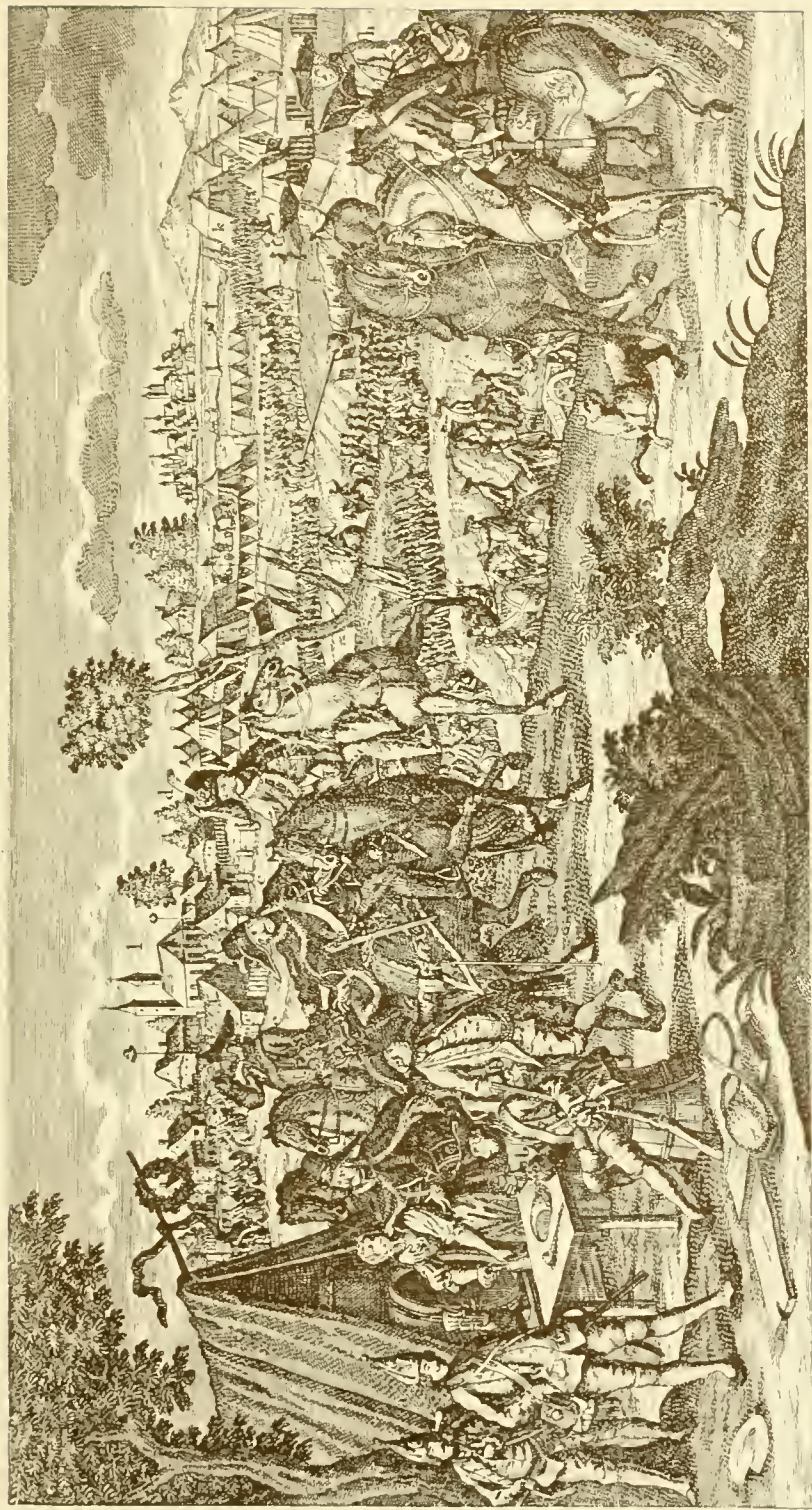
King Charles III. of Spain was of the firm conviction that after the complete destruction of the French marine by England this latter country would banish all other states from the sea, would seize all transoceanic colonies, and, in short, monopolize the trade and power of the world. To prevent this result he felt compelled to proclaim war against England. A Genoese whom he brought with him from Naples, the Marquis Squillace, was named minister of marine and finance; and in this twofold capacity all the resources of the land were put at his disposal for the construction of a powerful fleet. Meanwhile, before having recourse to warlike measures, Charles resolved to attempt the bringing about of a peace which should deliver the marine trade of France and of the neutral powers from English rapacity. In this he found full acquiescence from Choiseul, and at bottom from George III., who in March had cre-

ated his favorite, Lord Bute, secretary of state. At Choiseul's suggestion, a congress of representatives of the belligerent powers met in Angsburg, in April, 1761; and, while its deliberations protracted themselves endlessly, England and France attempted separate negotiations. These took at first a very favorable course, the capture of the island of Haiti and that of Belle-Isle, on the Breton coast, having made France inclined for peace.

But all these expectations were to prove deceptive. Pitt, in the haughty self-confident tone of the victor, put forward two unconditional demands, — that England should retain all the conquests she had made in the course of the war, and that, after the conclusion of peace with France, she should continue to support her Prussian ally as hitherto. To these terms Choiseul felt that he could not assent. He knew that in case of a new breach with England he was secure of Spanish support. The Spanish ambassador at Paris, Charles III.'s confidential counsellor, Grimaldi, left the French minister in no doubt on this point, and tried his best to bring about an offensive and defensive alliance between the two Bourbon powers till the humiliation of arrogant England should be accomplished.

Thus the hopes of peace vanished, and the Prussian king was forced to enter upon a new campaign.

The incredible carelessness with which Austria had left to him almost the whole of Saxony and Thuringia as winter quarters, put him in a position to bring his army (PLATE VI.) again up to 100,000 men. Even in April a Prussian division was sent against the enemy's troops encamped on the Saale and in the Fichtelgebirge, and that with such success as to drive them into Franconia, and to levy over a million thalers in contributions. The meagre advantage and the heavy losses resulting from the great battles of the last year induced the king to decide to take the defensive. With this end it was his main object to prevent the junction of the Russian army, 70,000 strong, again under the old Field-Marshal Buturlin, with that of Austria, numbering 75,000 combatants, the command of which, after the battle of Torgau, had been made over to Laudon. For a long time Frederick carried out his aim, because Buturlin, like all the other Russian generals, was by no means well disposed to the Austrians. But in the middle of August, 1761, Laudon, with as much adroitness as energy, effected a junction with him at Striegau. Frederick's situation became exceedingly critical, inasmuch as he was exposed to the attack of an enemy of about



a Grenadier
b Flagbearer
c Schwarze Hülzen
d Blau oder Gelbe
Hülzen
e Reiter
i nach T. 2. 26

March, König Preussischer Truppen.
Wir stellen unsern March, und allen freuden an,
dreyzehn wir gar viel bisher schon gethan zu;
und wissen wir all nicht nur es hinaus wird gehen
hat unser König doch die very schon ausweisen.

la Marche Des Troupes Prussiennes.
Nous sommes en marchant toujours inschables,
Notre Roi nous conduit avec un grand succès
la route est quelque fois impraticable,
nous surmontons pourtant le tout avec aisance.

f Cavalier Corporal
g Trompeter
h Consulnier
i Consulnier d'Canon
k Triß Layer
l Triß Druf

John Michael Probst sculpsit. J. G. Vond.

Prussian Troops of the Seven Years' War.

Facsimile of a copper-plate engraving by J. M. Probst.

threefold his own strength. In order to protect Schweidnitz, the bulwark of Upper Silesia, he pitched his camp at Bunzelwitz, in its neighborhood, and at once began intrenching it with all his might. But he would have been lost through the overwhelmingly superior strength of his enemies, had it not been that the old discord broke out between their commanders, which gave him time to make his camp virtually impregnable. Meanwhile, however, the Prussian army soon suffered dreadfully from want of provisions, so that there would presently have been nothing left to Frederick but the dangerous expedient of breaking his way through his foes, when suddenly, in the middle of September, Buturlin separated from the Austrians, and, leaving behind him a comparatively weak corps under General Czernicheff, returned to Poland, whereupon the king was able to leave the 'hunger-camp' of Bunzelwitz. With the energy peculiar to him, Frederick instantly despatched 10,000 men, under Platen, to Poland, who, anticipating the Russians there, destroyed a great part of their magazines, killed or took prisoners several thousands of the enemy, and then returned in safety to Pomerania.

Frederick, in order to allure the Austrians out of Silesia, retired with his main army, as if threatening an attack upon Moravia. With a Daun, such a plan might have been successful, but not with a Laudon (Fig. 18), who combined sound judgment with circumspection and energy. The imperial general did not trouble himself about Moravia, but improved the departure of the king to throw himself unexpectedly upon the strong Schweidnitz. On October 1 he stormed this fortress, and made its garrison prisoners of war. The whole south of Silesia was now, with the sole exception of Neisse, in the power of the Austrians. In vain did the king try to force Laudon to fight, that he might avenge the loss he had suffered, or win back the fortress. Laudon kept his forces in their quarters till the winter season put an end to operations.

At the same time the enemies, through their superior strength, were able to strike Frederick a still more severe blow than the storming of Schweidnitz. A Russian army of 30,000 men, under the experienced and able General Rumänzoff, had long, and for the third time, been employed on the siege of Kolberg. Prince Eugene of Würtemberg, who, from Stettin, endeavored to relieve the threatened fortress, could do nothing. The heroic von Heyde, commandant of Kolberg, had to succumb through want. In November he and his devoted garrison surrendered themselves as prisoners. The

whole of Farther Pomerania, together with the Neumark, which had furnished the most of his available soldiers, were now lost to Frederick. In view of such losses it was only a small consolation



Ernestus Gideon  *Baro de Laudon*
Regis Ord. Militaris Theresiani *Magne Crucis Eques S. C. R.*
Ap. M. a. Secretioribus Consiliis *Generalis Campi Marschallus*
et unius Legionis *Pedestris Chiliarchus*

FIG. 18. — General Laudon. After a copper-plate engraving, 1783, by F. V. Durmer

that Colonel Belling, with little more than 2000 men, kept the Swedes in check in Hither Pomerania. Just as little success crowned the attempts of Field-Marshal Daun and the troops of the

empire in Saxony, where Prince Henry and General Seydlitz, with not half their strength, maintained their positions against them.

On the western theatre of war, Duke Ferdinand, in order to recover the lands captured by the French in the previous year, opened his campaign in February. Unexpectedly he forced his way into Hesse, and drove the thoroughly surprised Broglie back to the Main. But when Ferdinand, instead of pursuing the French and completely scattering them, split up his strength in laying siege to various Hessian fortresses, Broglie concentrated his troops, and, re-enforcing them, again assumed the offensive, with the result of throwing back the allies, with considerable losses, to beyond Göttingen. Broglie's army was increased to 60,000 men, while Soubise led 80,000 against Westphalia. Ferdinand had little more than the half of these numbers, so that he was unable to prevent the two hostile armies uniting at Soest. With apparently overwhelming strength they attacked him, on July 15, 1761, at Vellinghausen; but as Soubise left the burden of the day to Broglie, the French were defeated with heavy loss. This defeat brought the hostility between the two French commanders to open expression. They again separated; Broglie passed over to the right bank of the Weser, while Soubise remained in Westphalia. At the end of the year the mutual relations of the powers in Western Germany were essentially the same as at the beginning. Again had France all but exhausted herself through her armaments.

Nevertheless, Frederick found his situation perilous to the last degree, and had recourse to the most extraordinary expedients. He negotiated with the sultan in regard to an attack on Austria, and with the Crim Tatars in order to induce them to attack Russia. On the whole, the conclusion we arrive at is that Frederick's situation, at the end of the campaign of 1761, had become all but desperate. Already, in the line of fortresses, which up to this time had defended his lands, there had been lost Dresden, Glatz, Schweidnitz, Kolberg. The greater part of his states were in the hands of the enemy. His army numbered scarcely 60,000 men, and was increasingly difficult to supplement. And, to cap the climax, the desertion of England now took place.

Pitt's hard conditions, urged in so arrogant a tone, as well as the promises of Spain, moved Choiseul, in the beginning of August, 1761, to break off negotiations with England. Immediately upon this, Choiseul and Grimaldi signed two secret treaties in Paris, the

first of these being the famed 'Family Compact,' by which the Bourbons of France, Spain, Naples, and Parma were guaranteed their possessions in all quarters of the world, and which, in particular, bound the future rulers of France and Spain to regard an enemy of either one of them as a common foe, and to conclude no peace without mutual assent, while the subjects of each were to enjoy the same commercial privileges as the natives in either country. The second treaty concerned present circumstances. It stipulated that the Catholic King, in case peace was not concluded between France and England by May 1, 1762, should declare war on the latter kingdom, in return for which France was to enforce all the claims of Spain, and make over to it the island of Minorea. The king of Portugal was to be forced to enter into an alliance with both courts.

Thus, after sixty years, the fears cherished at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession had come to be realized. There 'were no longer any Pyrenees'; to the foreigner France and Spain, each under the sceptre of a Bourbon, had become one single, mighty power. Pitt decided to anticipate the hostilities of the Catholic King by an immediate declaration of war. But Bute and King George seized this occasion for at length overthrowing this hated ruler of Great Britain. To the insufficiently informed public, Pitt's insatiable lust for war was denounced: and it was said that he wished to pick a quarrel with Spain without sufficient ground, while the difficulties of keeping two naval powers in check at once were dwelt on with emphasis. Thus the great statesman's position was shattered, his own colleagues in the cabinet deserting him. Since he was thus unable to carry out his views, he resigned his office, on October 5, 1761. However, Pitt's views were justified, for in the beginning of 1762 war was declared by both sides. But Bute, who had shown his political incapacity in the most striking manner, thought that he celebrated a pre-eminent triumph over his great rival by moving the king and parliament to suppress the wonted subsidies to Prussia. This unseasonable parsimony was necessarily a stroke of the hardest kind to Frederick II., who would have been irretrievably ruined but for the occurrence of an unforeseen event. In the long run, however, the measure reacted more injuriously for England herself. Ever after Frederick cherished an enmity towards that country as vehement as that which Maria Theresa cherished for Prussia. A decade later there came a time

PLATE VII.



ПЕТРЪ ТЕОДОРОВИЧЪ
Велікій Князь Всероссійскій.
PETRVS FRIDERICVS IVS
Magnus Dux Rusorum.

J. C. Grobth del.

J. Stenglin sculp.

Peter III., Emperor of Russia.

From the engraving by J. Stenglin (1715-1770) of the original painting by G. C. Grobth.

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of need to England, when she bitterly repented the violation of her most stringent moral obligations.

The news from London brought deep discouragement to Frederick, and still deeper to his generals. Nevertheless, he was firmly resolved to carry on the war to his last man, and to the last foot of his land. His heroic constancy, his single-hearted patriotism, and all his labors were at last to find their reward. A reaction set in that suddenly put an end to all the hopes of his enemies.

On January 5, 1762, Frederick's bitterest enemy, the Czarina Elizabeth, died, and with that the whole situation was changed. The deceased czarina was succeeded on the throne by her nephew, Prince Charles Peter Ulrich of Holstein-Gottorp, under the name of Peter III. (PLATE VII.). This prince had, since Elizabeth's accession to the throne, received his education in Russia, and gone over to the Greek church, but at heart he remained a German. Unfortunately his moral and intellectual training was completely neglected by the coarse and uncultured czarina, so that his natural waywardness and inborn impetuosity were aggravated through the grossest excesses. Even during Elizabeth's lifetime, he had ever showed himself to be an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick and of Prussian customs, so that the czarina kept him aloof from business, and had him carefully watched. On his ascending the throne, he recalled over 20,000 exiles from Siberia, abrogated the state's secret tribunal, prohibited torture, abolished trade-monopolies, and introduced other beneficent reforms. But the good impression which these measures ought to have made were destroyed when he foolishly paraded his Holstein sympathies, and aped all that was Prussian. His repugnance to the coalition with Austria was turned to intense hatred because his beloved Holstein had been given up for East Prussia. Much rather would he have wrested the whole of Holstein, and, if possible, also Schleswig, from the Danes, and united himself with the powerful monarch of Prussia. As it was, he promptly entered into friendly relations with Frederick, and restored the Prussian prisoners. In March, 1762, he concluded a truce with him, to which there followed, on May 5, a definitive peace between Russia and Prussia; the former country renounced all its conquests, and the province of Prussia was released from its oath of allegiance to Russia, and restored to its native ruler.

It is a debatable question whether this war was originally entered into by Russia from regard to her own true interests. But now that

Russian blood had been flowing for six years, and that untold millions of gold had been lavished on it, it roused — and justifiably — the highest indignation among the Russian people that all this should have been rendered nugatory through the caprice of a foreign-born ruler. But to make matters worse, Peter, within a month of the conclusion of peace, entered into an alliance with Prussia, not only defensive, but also with an offensive aim, and directed against Denmark.

With one stroke Frederick was relieved from all difficulty, a million subjects restored to him, and a hundred thousand Russian combatants transformed from enemies into allies. Maria Theresa lost every hope of recovering Silesia, and all the efforts with which she had vexed the world for seven long years were conclusively foiled. Besides, the intolerable burden of taxation compelled Austria, in the completely disordered state of its finances, to a considerable reduction of its army, while Peter, on the other hand, ordered General Czernicheff to join the Prussians with 20,000 men.

To the king himself his deliverance seemed little less than a miracle. In his jubilation he lauded the poor half-demented czar as ‘divine.’ Frederick now directed his efforts only to making peace. Good fortune intoxicated him as little as mischance had humiliated him. This trait is, perhaps, more characteristic of Frederick’s greatness of soul than his constancy under all the calamities of the last years. With his mind bent only on peace, he conducted the war this year rather as a diplomat than a soldier.

Notwithstanding all the intrigues of France, Sweden, who now dreaded seeing the Prussian corps in Pomerania falling with all its force on her poorly-led troops there, humbly solicited the king for peace, which was granted at Hamburg in May, 1762, on the ground of the *status quo ante bellum*. Soon thereafter Mecklenburg acceded to the Peace of Hamburg. So, now freed from these less important enemies, and supported by Czernicheff’s corps, Frederick resolved to resume offensive operations, and, by wresting Upper Silesia from the Austrians, to bring about a peace.

The force opposed to him was commanded by Daun, who unwillingly, and only in obedience to his monarch, had again undertaken the lead of the Austrian army. He established a strong camp on the Burkersdorf heights, near Schweidnitz, while 35,000 Austrians and the army of the empire fought against Prince Henry. Frederick sought, above all, to entice Daun out to a battle. When all

his allurements failed to induce Daun to leave the Burkersdorf heights, the king decided to capture them by storm; but at the same moment when he was making preparations to carry out his purpose, unwelcome news arrived from St. Petersburg which threatened to make his situation again most critical. Peter III. had been deposed by his own wife.

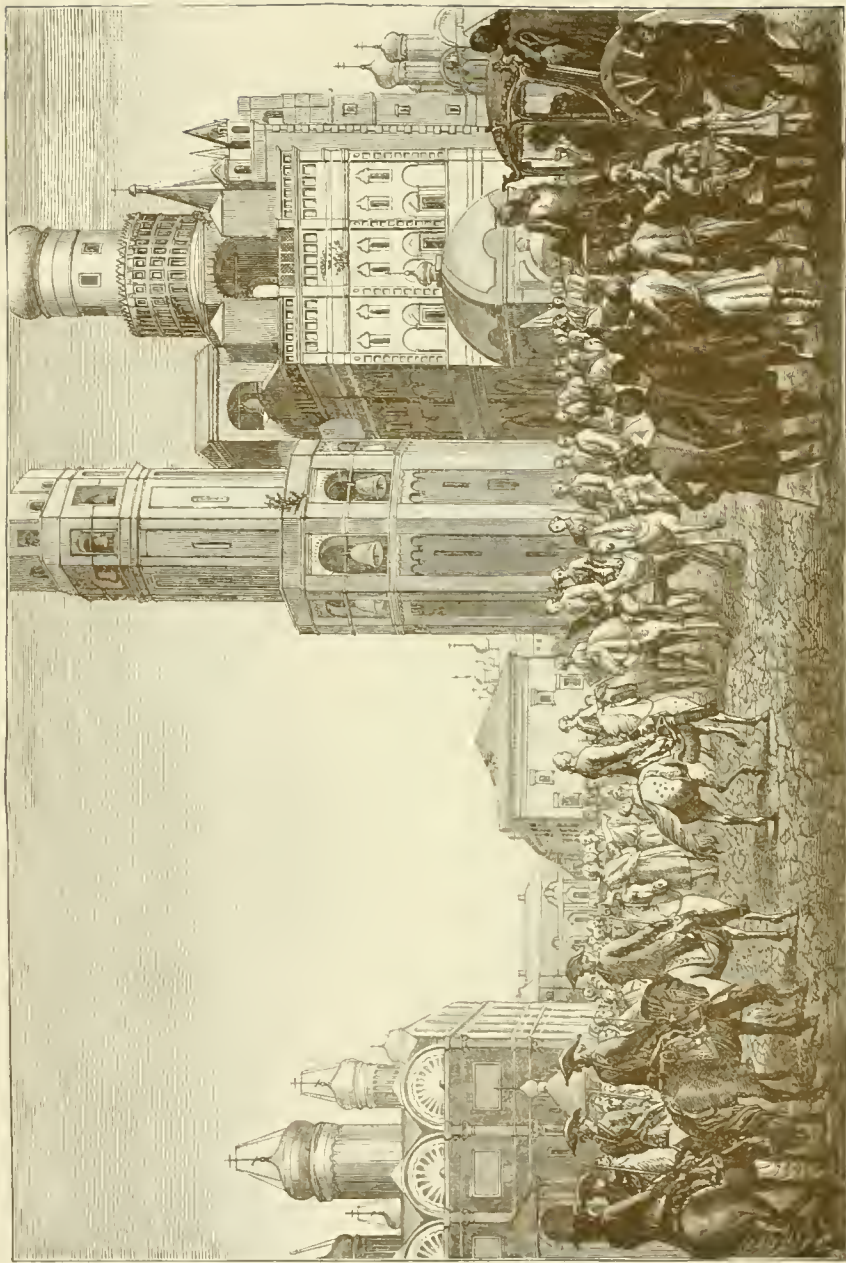
In the year 1743, when for a short time friendly relations existed between the Czarina Elizabeth and the Prussian king, the former desired Frederick to look out for a wife for the heir-apparent to her throne — Peter. The king's choice fell upon the daughter of a petty German prince, — the Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, a field-marshal in the Prussian service. This seemed to assure Frederick of her devoted attachment. Scarcely fourteen years old, Sophia arrived in Russia, where, on joining the Greek church, she assumed the name of Catharine. But the able, self-reliant woman, conscious of her aim, soon disappointed the hopes of her royal patron. Amid all the cabals of the St. Petersburg court she held herself thoroughly neutral, and sought only to satisfy the czarina. Notwithstanding, she was regarded with mistrust and disfavor by the latter, who soon came to regard Frederick with the bitterest hostility. And as little favor did Catharine find in the eyes of her husband, who entirely neglected her, to immerse himself in childish enjoyments. Her only supporter was the Chancellor Bestuzheff, who, though hostile to her, afterwards, in consideration of the czarina's advancing years, thought it wise to ally himself with the clear-sighted, ambitious, and resolute wife of the future czar. Most sedulously did the young wife prepare herself, through the study of books and people, for the rôle she meant to play. To secure her future she must give an heir to the empire; and as the unfriendly relation between her and her husband gave little prospect of such a consummation, Bestuzheff induced the Czarina Elizabeth herself to advise her niece to enter into relations elsewhere. Catharine accepted her counsel, and formed a liaison with the chamberlain, Soltikoff. The fruit of this connection was the Grand-Prince, later the Czar Paul. But when Bestuzheff discarded Soltikoff, lest he might become too powerful, Catharine entered into relations quite openly with the young and elegant Polish ambassador in St. Petersburg, the Count Poniatowski. These acts had led Peter to conceive the bitterest hate for his wife, and his wish to be separated from her, and to banish her from the country, was only frustrated by the

opposition of the czarina. Catharine, on the other hand, observed the greatest circumspection in regard to him, and intrigued against him, so that, to secure the favor of the national party, she, in direct contrast to his Germanizing mania, assumed the character of a thorough Russian.



FIG. 19. — Medal commemorating Catharine II.'s accession to the throne. Reverse side: St. Petersburg presents to Catharine the crown of Russia.

After his first promising proceedings, which followed immediately on his ascending the throne, Peter III. roused the wrath of his people by a series of measures offensive to their feelings and at variance with their views. He threatened the orthodox clergy with the confisca-



Proclamation of the Coronation of Catherine in Moscow.

The proclamation is being read by a Secretary of the Senate, accompanied by two heralds and the band of the horse-guards.
From a copper-plate engraving by Alexei Kolpashnikoff; original drawing by Jean de Velly, court-painter of the Empress. (St. Petersburg, Hermitage.)

tion of all their possessions. He set about preparing war against Denmark. The army he especially offended by ostentatiously preferring the Holstein troops to the Russian guards, and insisting on the introduction of Prussian discipline and the Prussian uniform. Besides all this, he made himself contemptible by his unprincely conduct, his coarse pleasures, and almost continual drunkenness. Against Frederick's express advice, he offended his wife in all ways, brutally insulting her in public. It was said that the czarina was to be separated from her husband, and even imprisoned, so that Peter might be able to marry his mistress, the Countess Woronzoff. Catharine resolved at any price to avert the fate threatening her. She found enough ambitious friends and assistants in those around her — the dissolute Princess Dashkoff; Count Panin, a military officer of high rank; the influential family of her lover, Grigori Orloff (Fig. 20); and the heads of the clergy. With but little trouble the officers and soldiers of the guard-regiments were won over to her; and under their protection she was, on July 9, 1762, proclaimed czarina (Figs. 19, 21, 22, and PLATE VIII.).

The whole national party received her with acclamations. On the following evening, at the head of 15,000 soldiers, she broke into the pleasure palace, where the emperor then was. Peter offered no resistance, but tremblingly subscribed the ignominious abdication laid before him. Without being permitted to see his wife, he was carried in custody to Ropsha, where, some days later, the Orloffs had him strangled (July 17). The new czarina, Catharine II., had not expressly given her assent to the assassination; but, though perfectly conscious that it was in contemplation, she did nothing to prevent it, nor to punish the murderers afterwards.

After the murder of her husband, this foreign, German princess, ascended the Russian throne, to the exclusion of her own son Paul, the legitimate heir. Without any strong personal feeling except for sensual enjoyment, but of extraordinary keenness of perception, of unwavering resolution, and of unscrupulous ambition, the czarina seized the reins of power and conducted the government. To her Russia is indebted for its permanent elevation to the rank of a European power. Her extraordinary knowledge of men enabled her to choose the most fitting instruments, while she strove persistently, in the spirit of Peter the Great, to civilize the people of her empire and to extend its power.

Frederick was most deeply struck by the news of these occur-



FIG. 20.—Count Grigori Grigorievitch Orloff. Reduced facsimile of an engraving by E. Chemessoff; original painting by de Bellay.

rences. Czernicheff was immediately recalled from the Prussian army, and the evacuation of East Prussia by the Russian troops was countermanded. Vienna was jubilant. But neither the king's evil apprehensions nor the hopes of Maria Theresa were verified. The hostile tone of the manifesto of July 9 was only meant for the Old Russians, and did not express the true sentiments of Catharine. On the contrary, she remained constantly true to her Prussian fatherland and its king, to whom she owed her greatness: and in him she hoped ultimately to find the best ally for her ambitious plans. Although the offensive alliance which the czar had entered into with him was not maintained in its validity, the peace of May 5 was confirmed in all its details, and a stop was put to the renewed occupation of the province of Prussia, which the Russian generals in their first zeal had set about seizing.

Made perfectly easy on this side, Frederick, on July 21, 1762, addressed himself to the storm of the heights of Burkersdorf. He had, through earnest solicitation, been able to prevail upon his ardent admirer, Czernicheff, to delay his withdrawal for a few days, so that Daun, imperfectly instructed in regard to the views of the Russians, detailed a part of his troops to keep them in check. The Prussians now successfully stormed the fortified hill. Daun had to evacuate Silesia, and retire under the guns of Glatz, and Frederick was able to proceed to the investment of Schweidnitz. This was no light undertaking: for the Austrians had strengthened its fortifications, and furnished it with a garrison of 12,000 picked men, under the brave and discreet General Guasco. The siege, very indifferently conducted by the Prussian engineers, endured for three months. On the other hand, an attempt by the Austrians to relieve it was victoriously frustrated by the Duke of Bevern, on August 16, at Reichenbach. At length Guasco had to surrender, with the remainder of his troops, as prisoners of war (October). Prussian Silesia was once more free from its enemies, who now had only Glatz in their hands.

Meanwhile Prince Henry (Fig. 23), with 30,000 men, defended Saxony with great tenacity against the more than double strength of Austrians and troops of the empire under the Prince of Stolberg, and even sent raiding corps into Bohemia, which there levied heavy contributions, and destroyed a part of the enemy's magazine. After the capture of Schweidnitz, he received some re-enforcements from Silesia. Thereupon he attacked the enemy at Freiberg, and completely defeated them (October 29, 1762).

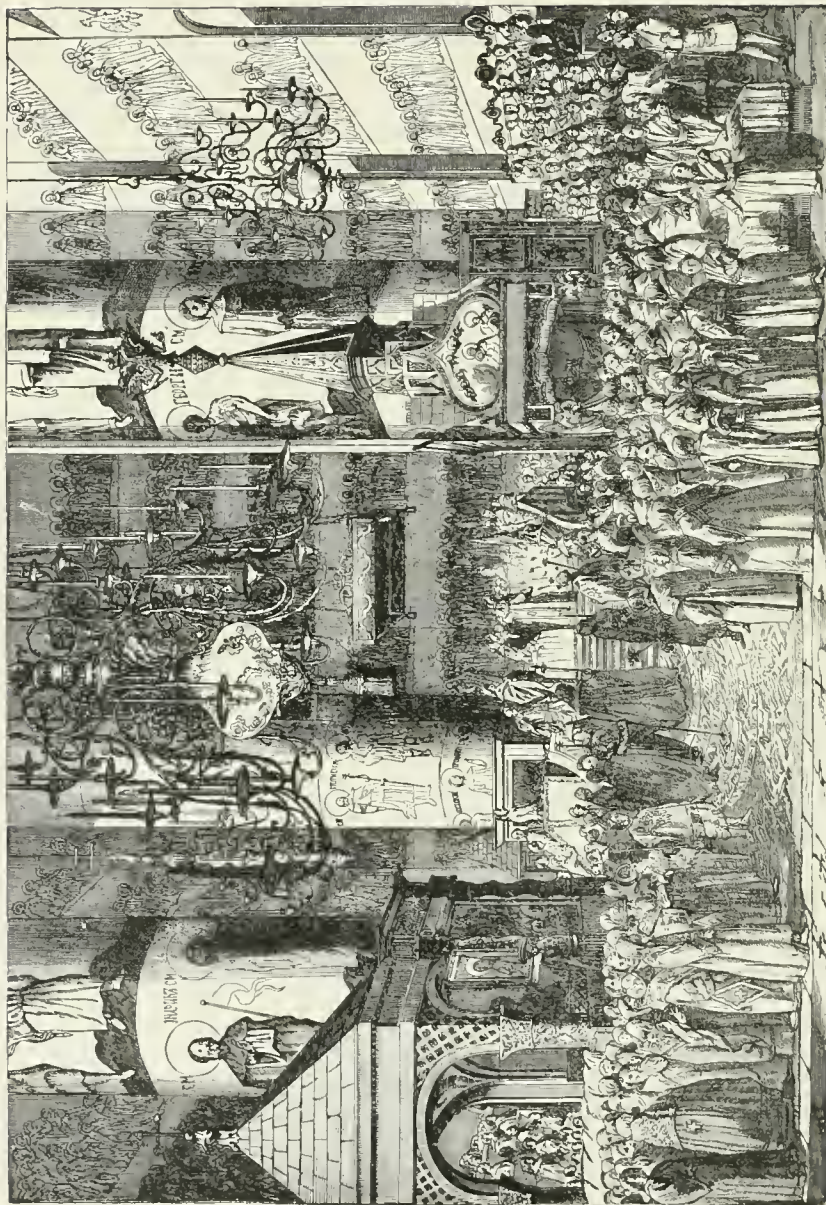


FIG. 21. — Catherine in the Coronation Cathedral in the Kremlin : the czarina takes the oath on the Bible, which is held before her by the metropolitan. Reduced facsimile of an engraving by Alexei Kulpushnikoff ; original drawing by Jean de Velly, court-painter of the czarina. (St. Petersburg, Hermitage.)

Equally fortunate was the campaign of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, although he had to contend against the most decided antipathy of Lord Bute. Luckily the intrigues of Soubise and his patroness, Pompadour, had been successful in ejecting the able and energetic Broglie from his command, and in substituting for him the pliant d'Estrées. Soubise again showed his incapacity in a very conspicuous manner. He let himself be surprised by Ferdinand at Wilhelmsthal, and driven under the walls of Cassel with a loss of 4000 men. This defeat compelled the French to evacuate Göttingen, and now the duke could proceed to the reconquest of electoral Hesse. He defeated the French anew at Homberg and Lutterberg, and retook from them the whole of the electorate. Finally Cassel itself capitulated with its numerous garrison, on November 1, 1762.

The results of this campaign at length bent the strong spirit of Maria Theresa. The only gain that she had made in the Seven Years' War consisted in the fortresses of Glatz and Dresden, and these would be lost to her in the next campaign. That France was more and more anxious to make its peace with England was well known; and in this case Austria would be left to fight alone against Prussia, a condition which the empress and Kaunitz had, from the beginning, regarded as unpromising for them. In point of fact, hatred had not blinded Maria Theresa so completely as to make her incapable of recognizing the extraordinary superiority of Frederick and his officers over all that Austria could place against him. And, finally, the year 1762 had shown that Frederick could meet all his needs without English subsidies, while the Austrian finances were completely disorganized, and utterly inadequate to maintain a new campaign without subsidies from France. With a heavy heart, but in obedience to unmistakable necessity, Maria Theresa—in order to avoid direct and humiliating steps—made use of Saxon intervention to make propositions for a truce to the Prussian king. With the moderation and love of peace that he had shown throughout the whole war, Frederick at once acceded to her proposals; and on November 24, 1762, a truce was agreed on. It was to last till March 1 of the next year, and was the sure preliminary for a permanent peace.

In revenge for the meagre assistance lent the empress by the empire she did not include its troops in the suspension of arms. Frederick took advantage of this omission to give the princes and cities a wholesome warning against future hostilities on Prussia. In No-

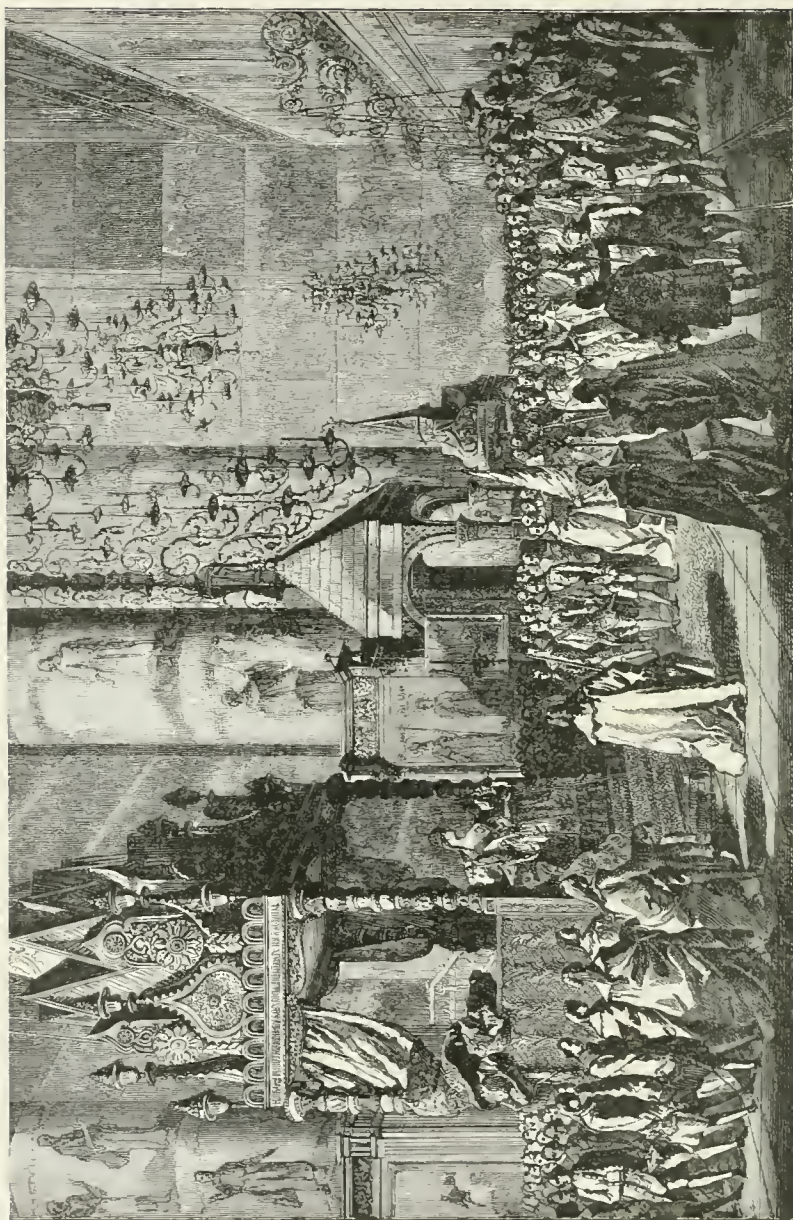


FIG. 22. — The czarina crowned, with the imperial globe and sceptre in her hands, and standing on the throne said to have been made at the time of Vladimir Monomachos. Reduced facsimile of an engraving by Alexei Kulpaschnikoff; original painting by Jean de Velly, court-painter of the czarina. (St. Petersburg, Hermitage.)

vember, 1762, General Kleist, with 6000 cavalry soldiers, advanced into Franconia, where he levied contributions on all sides; great fortresses like Nuremberg surrendered to his hussars, who even put the diet at Ratisbon in terror. The immediate consequence of this expedition was, that the electors of Bavaria, the Palatinate, and Mayence, the bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, and others, withdrew from the alliance against Prussia, and recalled their contingents from the army of the empire.

Meanwhile Lord Bute had in vain tried to shake himself free from Continental complications. One of the main aims of the two great Bourbon powers, in the making of the Family Compact, had been to attack Portugal, in order either to compel England to despatch a large part of its troops to that country, or to take possession of it themselves to trade it off for the English acquisitions in America. Charles III. of Spain accordingly made the demand on King Joseph I. of Portugal to declare war upon the English, with whom he maintained the most friendly relations; and when, as expected, the Portuguese king refused to do this, Spain and France declared war against him. Portugal was by no means strong enough to resist alone the Spanish force. The hated Castilians in a few weeks became masters of northern Portugal. Then the aspect of affairs was suddenly changed. England sent to Lisbon a small force of troops, arms, money, a store of ammunition, and, above all, an illustrious general of the school of Frederick the Great — Count William of Lippe-Bückeburg. The new leader was able, in a short time, to reorganize the Portuguese army, and with it, re-enforced by the English, he drove the Spaniards, in spite of their superiority in numbers, across the frontiers, and took from them a number of their own fortresses.

The intervention of Spain was not of the least use to her French allies. In the beginning of 1762 Admiral Rodney conquered the French Little Antilles. Still more important was the enterprise undertaken in the spring by Admiral Sir George Pocock against Havana, the emporium of Spanish trade in America. The city was fortified in the strongest manner, and occupied by a garrison equal in number to its assailants. English persistence and valor conquered all difficulties. After a siege of four months the Spaniards were forced to deliver up, not only the city, but also all the ships lying in the harbor, as well as the whole western part of Cuba (August, 1762). The booty which fell into the hands of the English

amounted to \$15,000,000. And with this the series of misfortunes which Spain was to suffer for its foolish participation in the Anglo-French war was by no means brought to a close. An expedition was



*Frederic Henry Louis
Prince de Prusse Frere du Roy.*

FIG. 23. — Prince Henry of Prussia. Copper-plate engraving (1767) by G. F. Schmidt, "Graveur du Roy" (1712-1775); original painting by Charles Amédée van Loo (1715 or 1718 until near the end of the century).

despatched from Madras against Spain's flourishing settlements in Eastern Asia, the Philippine Islands, which ended in the capture of the latter, as well as of a booty of \$4,000,000. Shortly afterwards the English seized a Spanish silver fleet which brought them another prize of the value of \$7,000,000. These extraordinary successes had only one meaning to Lord Bute,—namely, that they would dispose the minds of his enemies to reconciliation. He caused, therefore, negotiations for peace to be opened at Versailles through the king of Sardinia; and on these Choiseul readily entered, because he was convinced of the thorough uselessness of the Spanish alliance for France. As the parties on all sides wished for peace, the negotiations made rapid progress. On November 3, 1762, the preliminaries were agreed upon at Fontainebleau, to which the conclusive peace followed at Paris on February 10, 1763. The old boundaries were to be restored everywhere, with, however, numerous exceptions in favor of England. In America, Canada and Cape Breton were surrendered by France to her, as well as the whole land to the east of the Mississippi, which now became the eastern boundary of Louisiana. In the West Indies, too, France gave up Tobago and several other islands. In Africa, she had to evacuate her possessions on the Senegal. As to India, the French agreed to maintain neither fortresses nor troops in Bengal. Spain had to surrender the great peninsula of Florida to England, and even restore Minorca to her. France magnanimously compensated her ally by making over to her the rest of Louisiana, with New Orleans.

The ruin of her whole colonial empire was, for France, the sad result of this perversely undertaken and miserably conducted war. With such heavy material losses was associated the disgrace which her constant defeats by land and sea cast upon her arms. Her marine was practically annihilated; and her finances were so disorganized, that the silver plate of the king and private persons had to be sent to the mint for coinage.

The Seven Years' War, in so far as it was carried on outside of Germany, had two very important results,—the exclusive occupation of the East Indies by the English, and, what was still more important, the falling of the whole of North America to the Anglo-Saxon race. For it was already evident that the weak Spanish power would not be long able to maintain itself in the territories west of the Mississippi against the victoriously on-pressing Anglo-Saxon element. The new world had become the destined portion of

this Teutonic race; and the colonies which lay desolate and unaffected by general culture under French and Spanish sway were to progress with unprecedented rapidity, and soon to constitute one of the leading factors of civilized humanity. But this development was to accrue to the good not of England, but of a sister nation, who had attained her majority and self-confidence in this struggle, and who, since she had no longer an equal enemy to dread, within a short time declared herself free from the protection and sway of the mother country.

Otherwise Great Britain was dissatisfied to the last degree with the Parisian treaties. The war had cost her heavy sacrifices in blood and treasure. During it the national debt was doubled, increasing from £60,000,000 to £122,500,000. The public was indignant that large conquests should be given back to Spain and France, and, with justice, ascribed the blame for this to Lord Bute's yearning for peace. But what made the policy of the favorite much more harmful to England was his unfaithfulness to engagements.

Lord Bute had, through his hatred for Pitt and his system, been induced to conduct himself in the basest manner towards Prussia. As he had, both in St. Petersburg and Vienna, offered England's support against Frederick, so the preliminaries of November 3, 1762, only settled that the French and British troops should have till the next spring to evacuate the German territories, but not that the Prussian fortresses occupied by France should be delivered over to Prussia herself, not to the Austrians or troops of the empire. All Frederick's representations against such perfidious conduct on the part of the English government remained ineffectual. The consequences were not long in showing themselves. France not only granted the empress-queen, under the form of overdue subsidies, a support for the year 1763 of 12,000,000 livres; but she made over to her the corps of Saxon renegades to be paid by France, and promised to evacuate for her the Prussian fortresses in Cleves and Westphalia.

Fortunately the Austrians did not have enough troops in their Netherlands to carry out this latter plan. King Frederick meanwhile caused some hired regiments to advance immediately into the district of Cleves. The peace-loving Choiseul had no mind to begin a formal war with Prussia; and so he concluded with her, in the beginning of 1763, a convention in London, according to which the Rhenish and Westphalian provinces of Prussia were given back to

the latter country, while the Austrian Netherlands, during the continuance of the Prusso-Austrian war, were to be declared neutral.

This last provision, through the progress of the negotiations between Frederick and Maria Theresa, became illusory. The king was ready for an accommodation, under the single condition of the *Status quo ante bellum*. In point of fact, this was an evidence of great moderation on Frederick's part; for, if the Austrians still had the little fortress of Glatz, he, on the other hand, held possession of almost the whole of Saxony. On December 30, 1762, the representatives of Austria, Prussia, and Saxony met in Hubertsburg, an electoral Saxon hunting-castle between Leipsic and Meissen. Kaunitz, indeed, again attempted to retain at least Glatz for his empress, and to gain some other advantages for her allies; but Frederick insisted rigorously on the renewal of the Peace of Dresden of



FIG. 24. — Medal commemorating the Peace of Hubertsburg.

1745. He declared he would not evacuate Saxony till the county of Glatz, with all its works and artillery, was delivered up. As little could Saxony make her claims for indemnity of avail. As Prussia maintained its standpoint, "that the *Suum cuique* was the most natural basis for an equitable peace," the others had to submit. The Peace of Hubertsburg (Fig. 24) between the three powers was signed on February 15, 1763, entirely on the basis of the Peace of Dresden. The empire had, four days before, concluded its peace with Prussia. On the whole, Frederick regarded the conclusion of the long-continued and terrible war rather with sorrow than with joy. He felt too sensibly how much the war had cost him, and that it, notwithstanding its ultimate fortunate issue, had become the catastrophe of his life. "I shall now see you, my good little mother," he writes to the Countess Camas, "and I hope it will be at the end

of this or the beginning of the following month. You will find me much altered, and almost childish; gray as an ass, and like a man who daily loses a tooth, and has become half invalid through the gout. We have lost our friends, but our enemies appear to continue for all eternity." And in the same tone he writes to d'Argens a week after the conclusion of the treaty: "The best of all is the peace itself; and every good citizen may rejoice in it. I return an old graybeard to a city (Berlin) in which I recognize only the walls; where I no longer meet a friend, but where an endless task awaits me, and where, within a short time, I shall lay my old bones to rest in a place of refuge where no war, no mischance, and no baseness of man, shall disturb them."

On March 30, 1763, Frederick returned to his capital, which he had not entered for more than six years. He came at an unexpected hour, in order to evade any ovation, which would have ill-accorded with his embittered mood and his desire for soothing intellectual quietude. He saw the immensity of the task before him, of curing his land of the wounds inflicted upon it by the war.

Austria saw her finances completely disorganized. The war had cost her yearly over 50,000,000 florins (\$20,000,000), and the public debt was increased since 1761 by 88,000,000 florins (\$35,200,000). Such burdens were too heavy for the financial abilities of the state. Henceforth almost each annual budget showed a deficit. Frederick had, in the Peace of Hubertsburg, promised his electoral vote to the eldest son of the imperial pair, Joseph II., for the throne of Rome. Joseph was indeed elected without opposition, on March 27, 1763, but the somewhat shabby manner in which the coronation was celebrated some days thereafter, in Frankfort, could not but open men's eyes to the fact that through Austria's ineffectual struggle with a vassal state the imperial prestige in Germany and the authority of the empire of the Hapsburgs in Europe had been much prejudiced.

The financial situation of the Prussian state was, on the other hand, comparatively very favorable. In extraordinary expenses the war had cost it only 64,750,000 thalers; while the war-treasury, constituted by the king, had received 78,375,000 thalers, so that nearly fourteen millions were still on hand. There were added, in the course of the year 1763, out of other war-reserve funds and overdue contributions, at least 22,000,000 thalers: so that Frederick (Fig. 25) came out of the war with at least 36,000,000 thalers of surplus,—it must be owned for the most part in depreciated money,—and that

without having imposed any new tax on his subjects, an admirable testimony to his financial discretion and economy. But of his mildness towards, and consideration for, his subdued foes, and liberality



FIG. 25. — Frederick II. From a painting by Daniel Chodowiecki, one of the few for which the king sat. Now in the possession of Herr Rudolf von der Leyen in Crefeld, to whose family Frederick the Great gave the portrait.

towards individuals — the less said the better. But he saved his state; and that was assuredly his highest duty, — nay, under the circumstances, almost his only duty.

Much worse than the condition of the state was that of the impoverished Prussian people, sorely thinned by the tax of blood it had paid. Yet it is proper to note that the sufferings of his subjects

called forth Frederick's most sincere sympathies. But these evils were only temporary, while the favorable consequences of the great struggle were as durable as they were effective. For the national development of Prussia, and of Germany in general, it has proved to be of the greatest consequence. Hitherto Prussia had remained a sort of subordinate state. What successes she had formerly won had been in union with numerous allies, and had been gained over an exhausted and mutilated Austria; so that it was easy to believe, that, under more favorable circumstances, the latter could without much trouble recover Silesia. The Seven Years' War had effectually disposed of this idea. Against almost all Europe, Frederick's genius and the valor and devotedness of his people had maintained this important province. Prussia had coped successfully with three great powers. No one could now deny her right to be classed among the leading states. The Prussian army was unquestionably regarded as the foremost in Europe. Of wresting Silesia from Prussia, no one longer thought — not even Maria Theresa herself.

Not Prussia alone, but all Germany, was elevated through the glory that the former had gained in the mighty conflict. The hero, now looked at with admiring wonder by the whole world, was a German. Purely German troops had conquered, in spite of superior numbers, the Croats and Pandours, Russians and Swedes; German troops in the pay of England, though almost exclusively non-Prussian, had defeated the hated and arrogant French. These successes restored to the Germans the consciousness of their own strength and ability, that had been so long lost to them. Only thus was a national and independent intellectual life, free from servile imitation of the foreigner, made possible for the German people. Imbued with greater respect for and interest in themselves, their essential nature, and peculiar qualities, the German people took a by far warmer interest in the new literature, now brilliantly developing itself, than they had ever done before. Lessing was the first to effect, in the domain of poetry, what Frederick II. and Ferdinand of Brunswick had effected on the battlefields: but he could not have done this without the inspiration which their deeds gave him. Not till the outbreak of the great conflict did his truly creative period begin. Thus the campaigns of Frederick the Great, especially in the Seven Years' War, constitute an epoch, not only in the political, but in the literary, history of Germany, from which an entirely new and finer development takes its date.

The passage in *Wahrheit und Dichtung* ("Truth and Fiction") is well known, in which Goethe associates the new birth of German literature with the personality and triumphs of Frederick. Frederick he regarded as not belonging to Prussia alone, but to all Germany. And in this conception Goethe was far from being alone. Friedrich Nicolai, the editor of the epoch-making *Litteraturbriefe*, shows expressly that these owed their origin to the great deeds of the Seven Years' War. Many others then living testified with what rejoicing and proud enthusiasm the best of their contemporaries were thus imbued. "Our historical style," says the judicious Justus Möser, "became improved in proportion as the Prussian name became distinguished and our own history became more important and worthier of us." Frederick himself in no way misapprehended the importance of his achievements for the fatherland at large. Even in the autumn of 1756, he wrote to his sister of Bayreuth: "It shall never be said, so long as one Prussian is alive, that Germany has no defender."

But it was not Frederick's successes in war alone and their national importance which produced the wonderful uprising of the German national literature. What gave to the Seven Years' War an importance in a literary aspect altogether different from that which the no less glorious eras of 1813-1815 as well as of 1870 and 1871 possess, was that it meant also the victory of enlightenment, of spiritual freedom, of intellectual independence, over the bigotry then prevailing in Austria and its vassal lands,—the victory of the modern sentiment of nationality and of the modern individual conscience over the antiquated political powers and over religious oppression and stagnation. True to Prussia's mission in the world's history, Frederick appeared as the glorious representative of the revolutionary powers in their best sense, as against a rigid and dead conservatism. Because he identified himself with the boldest aspirations of the period, filled himself with their spirit, and became the spiritual and intellectual leader and champion of his time, his subjects felt that they were, in a certain sense, free men, and their king not a despot, but their leader.

Was it a mere accident that, in 1766, a few years after the end of the Seven Years' War, Kant (Fig. 26), in the "Dreams of a Ghost-seer" (*Träume eines Geistersehers*), unfolded the principles of his famed system? The enthusiasm of the Prussian people for their hero-king and spiritual liberator produced an immediate effect

in the domain of poetry. It was at this time that Gleim gave to the world his "War-Songs of a Prussian Grenadier," which Lessing compared with the creations of a Tyrtæus; that Ramler composed his artistic odes to the king; and that Schubart, the bold bard of freedom, caused his hymns from his stern cell in the distant strong-

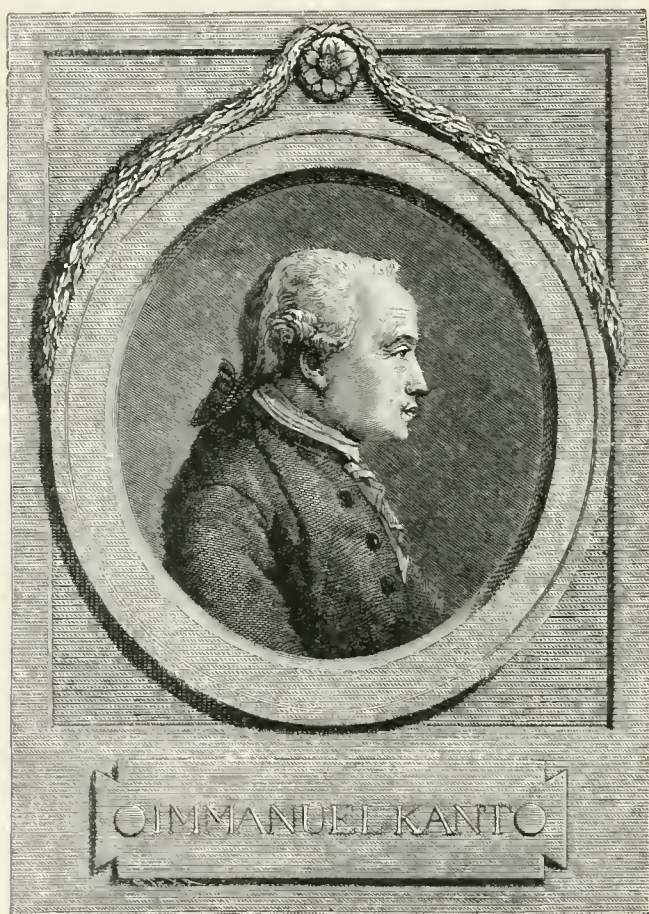


FIG. 26. — Immanuel Kant.

hold of Hohenasperg to resound with the name of Frederick. But in the strictly political sense the Seven Years' War was decisive for the whole future of Germany. It gave rise to that settled antagonism between the two great German powers and their respective adherents which shattered the antiquated institutions to the very ground, in order to lead to the second birth of the German state

under happier and truly national conditions. The conclusion of the Peace of Hubertsburg was the sealing of the dualism of Germany. Prussia had fought, not only against the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, as in the two first Silesian wars, but against the emperor and the empire, and had come off victorious. The imperial authority had received its death-blow. The bands of the empire were loosened: and a part of its states henceforth grouped themselves around Prussia, as another part did around the official head of the empire. The subjects of Frederick the Great—the Prussians—felt themselves as something apart and distinct from the empire. The development of the German nationality which was perfected in 1871 had its origin in the years 1740 and 1756.

CHAPTER IV.

THE 'ENLIGHTENMENT' AND JESUITISM IN THE SOUTH AND WEST OF EUROPE.

THE French 'enlightenment' of the first half of the eighteenth century, — that is, the doctrines of that school of encyclopedists which inculcated liberation from the prejudices of the Middle Ages, and especially from the domination of the priesthood; the setting of the masses free from oppression and exploitation by the privileged classes; and the exclusive authority of pure reason and sound judgment, not only in the domain of the intellect, but also in those of the state and society, — this teaching, emanating from England, but acquiring a new direction on the Continent, had, through the long-established predominance of French modes and the French language, rapidly spread over all Europe. Everywhere it gained the favor of the cultured classes. Montesquieu and Voltaire were read with avidity in the most remote quarters of the globe, and their principles became the common property of the whole civilized world. Maxims noble in themselves and easily intelligible, apparently no less in harmony with historical experience than with the claims of reason, expressed in elegant, spirited, and witty language, everywhere produced the deepest impression. Had not every land suffered under religious quarrels and under the pressure of the feudal system? Did not every government feel itself aggrieved through the claims and traditional prerogatives of the clergy? Should men not accept that doctrine which, in lieu of these evils, promised well-being to the individual and increased riches and power to the state? Additional weight was given to these theoretical considerations by the actual application of 'philosophical principles' by the most renowned of all princes, Frederick the Great. An example given by a universally admired ruler must quickly gain imitators. But more than this: through his enlightened manner of rule the king had secured for his little state an unexampled development of power, and so augmented it with rich conquests as to place it, at one stroke, in the number of the great powers. What Frederick's predecessors,

and especially his father, had done towards attaining this object, was virtually unknown out of Prussia. All the more, therefore, were men inclined to attribute the magnificent and brilliant elevation of Prussia exclusively to Frederick's rationalistic principles of government. 'Enlightenment,' therefore, became the catchword, not only for the cultured subjects, but also for their rulers, who through it hoped to confer on the people of their states every sort of earthly felicity,—on their lands fabulous greatness and power, and on themselves unheard-of independence and absolute authority. They found ministers, who, themselves filled with like views, zealously co-operated with them for the realization of such aims.

No land had suffered more severely under the prevalent social and religious organization than Portugal, lying so remote from the centres of European culture. Her sixty years' union with her hated and tyrannical Castilian neighbor had blasted her prosperity, paralyzed her strength, and brought about the loss of most of her colonies. The last remains of national energy had been exhausted in the War of Liberation against Spain. In order to be able to maintain her independence of this far superior antagonist, Portugal had put herself under English protection, for which England exacted great commercial sacrifices. Financially and politically a vassal state of Great Britain, Portugal became more and more obscure, and more contracted in every respect. This condition reached its climax under the long government of John V. (1706–1750). This ruler, at bottom not without good parts, was a victim of religious insanity. Almost the whole income of the land was spent on ecclesiastical objects. New and immense monasteries were erected constantly, till the number mounted up to eight hundred. A full tenth of the population wore clerical attire, and lived in constant idleness. A patriarchate was established in Lisbon, and endowed with prebendary preferments and judicial functions of all kinds, after the pattern of the papacy and the college of cardinals. The gold and diamonds from Brazil proved insufficient to meet the claims, and the most pressing wants of the state had to be neglected. An army and fleet existed only on paper. The exclusive favoritism for pietistic devotees promoted ignorance and superstition, while it annihilated manufactures and commerce. The nobles and priesthood could treat the people as they chose: and the latter fell more and more into a double serfdom—material and spiritual. Filth, poverty, ignorance, and immorality were more prevalent there than in any other European land.

Under such unfavorable circumstances King Joseph mounted the throne, on July 31, 1750,—a man little adapted to give them a more favorable turn. A mild, just, and pious prince, he was devoid of all firmness of will, uncertain in his purposes, and altogether inexperienced in affairs, to which he much preferred the enjoyments of the chase and of music. It was, therefore, most fortunate for Portugal that he devolved the administration of the state upon a man who possessed enough firmness of character to guide it into better paths.

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, later Marquis of Pombal (Fig. 27), was born the son of a simple country gentleman, in the year 1699. Educated



FIG. 27. — Pombal.

by his own private study more thoroughly and independently than he could have been at the official institutions of learning, of a tall, noble form, amiable and eloquent, he had, at an early period, recommended himself to the leading circles. He was sent as ambassador, first to London, then to Vienna, where he developed such high states-

manlike talent that he everywhere attracted respect and admiration. At the same time the sagacious man, eager for knowledge, made himself familiar at the different courts with the constitution, laws, politics, and industries of the various European great powers. No wonder that King Joseph, immediately upon his accession, called him to the ministry of foreign affairs, and soon (1756) intrusted to him the guidance of all public business, creating him, in reward for his extraordinary services, first, Count Oeyras, then Marquis of Pombal.

Pombal devoted his inexhaustible power of work and his wealth of ideas entirely to the welfare of the state as he understood it. He possessed an excellent insight into questions of political economy, which he regarded not only in their pecuniary, but also in their

moral, aspect. His objects were the elevation of the people, morally, intellectually, and materially, and their emancipation from the yoke of the nobles and clergy as well as from the tutelage of England. In the pursuit of these high aims he did not recoil before the breach of positive law, before violence, nay, before cruelty itself. Like all his contemporary representatives of enlightened absolutism, he did homage to their model, Frederick the Great.

Above all, Pombal combated with the greatest energy the encroachments of the nobility. Against their rapacity and violent exercise of their feudal privileges, he took the most effective measures, as well as against the criminal outrages which made the country roads and even the streets of the cities unsafe. By suddenly reclaiming, under pretexts of any kind, the gifts of extensive tracts of land in the colonies which earlier kings had made to the noble families, he deprived the aristocracy of their main source of income, and weakened their power and influence in an extraordinary degree. At the same time he combated the persecuting zeal of the clergy by subjecting, in 1751, the Inquisition, in all its details, to the supervision and the higher instance of the secular courts. The court household, too, was restricted, and its costs reduced to a half. The administration of the finances, which had hitherto been characterized by the most shameless plundering of the people for the benefit of the officials and nobles, was now regulated in the best manner and supervised. Royal sugar-refineries and powder-factories were erected, the silk manufacture, as well as other cognate branches of industry, were fostered by immunities of all kinds, while great privileged companies were established. The land began gradually to assume another and more prosperous aspect. Pombal treated all who did not unconditionally submit themselves to him as criminals. A strong censorship gagged the press, the prisons were filled with persons who had in any way allowed themselves to express discontent with the government. Soon all opposition was silent.

Only one estate was bold enough to oppose the enlightened tendency of Pombal's administration, — the clergy, and at their head the order of Jesuits. The hostility between the fathers of the order and the minister was aggravated by certain special occurrences, and assumed an acute character.

The spirit of the order of Jesuits in the second half of the seventeenth century experienced an essential transformation. The order renounced the old ascetic piety, its rigid discipline, and the

entire subordination of itself to the will and interests of the Holy See, in order to enjoy the pleasures of this life, to seek intercourse and influence with the mighty of the world, and to engage everywhere in juridical and commercial affairs. In Rome its house resembled an immense magazine, where wares of all kinds were for sale. In South America it possessed, not only the most numerous herds and many mines, but also six great sugar-refineries. The bulls directed by Popes Urban VIII. and Clement IX. against its commercial and industrial undertakings the order disregarded. It thought no longer of subduing the world to the religious and rigidly ecclesiastical spirit; its aim was quite simple, namely, to make itself indispensable in all ways to the rulers of the world, and through their agency to become itself the ruler. Through their doctrine of 'Probabilism,' which permitted the doing of anything which could be defended by any plausible reason, the Jesuits silenced every scruple of conscience, and opened a wide door for the indulgence of all wicked appetites. Ultimately they characterized as sins only crimes that were committed through the pure love of sin. Through the doctrine of mental reservation, every sort of falsehood and deception and even perjury itself was declared permissible. The Jansenist controversies had brought about the renewal of the old alliance between the Jesuits and the Holy See. But the order did not, therefore, let itself be diverted from the worldly course on which it had entered; only it now expended the riches and power it acquired for the promotion of Ultramontanism. In this attitude the Jesuits were still powerful in the eighteenth century. They were the confessors of the great and princely, and guided the education of the youth of the higher classes. Their political and commercial enterprises compassed the world. Inasmuch as they employed all their resources in defending the claims of the papacy to supremacy, and furthering the power and influence of the clergy generally, they necessarily came everywhere into conflict with the new sceptical spirit of reform. Their very existence was seriously threatened, and this all the more because their lust of power, cupidity, and arrogance made them as much hated by the whole body of the clergy as by the freethinkers themselves. With the approval of the Spanish government, they had established in 1610, in Paraguay, a special commonwealth in which the fathers exercised, in thirty-one villages, absolute rule over some hundred thousand Indians. This they named the "State of the Seven Missions." Here it must be con-

fessed that for the first and last time an attempt was made with success to win over the wild natives of South America to peaceful industry. But the wily fathers knew how to employ their subjects for the benefit of their order, which drew a yearly profit of some four million dollars from the "State of the Seven Missions." In the year 1750 Spain and Portugal settled a long protracted boundary quarrel, the former ceding the "Seven Missions" in exchange for the Portuguese province of Nova Colonia. But the Jesuits of Paraguay refused to surrender their independence. They armed the Indians, devoted to them with superstitious fervor and unbounded gratitude, organized and disciplined them, and resisted the united Spanish and Portuguese forces there for several years.

This procedure aggravated Pombal's and the king's antipathy to the Jesuits, which was further increased through a frightful disaster which befell the land and the disreputable rôle which the Jesuits played in connection therewith. On November 1, 1755, the city of Lisbon was visited with a terrible earthquake, which laid it almost entirely in ruins, while the waters of the Tagus rushed in over its banks, so that more than 30,000 of the inhabitants perished in the ruins and the water. To complete the misery, a violent conflagration broke out; and bands of criminals, escaped from prison, assailed the fleeing inhabitants, murdering and plundering them. Amid the general paralyzing terror and dismay Pombal did not lose his head. In order to avoid contagious diseases the dead were buried immediately. Supported by contributions from the whole world, Pombal set himself, with indomitable energy and with no less artistic than practical insight, to the rebuilding of the city, which arose more beautiful and better constructed than before.

Pombal's services during and after this catastrophe would alone have sufficed to recommend his name to the grateful remembrance of his people and humanity. But the clergy, and especially the Jesuits, reckoning on the superstition of the people, saw in this calamity only a welcome opportunity for giving expression to their hatred against the minister. They sought to convince them that Pombal's godlessness had invoked the earthquake as a punishment of Heaven. King Joseph, however, valued Pombal too much, and was filled with disgust for such calumnies, and with contempt for their authors.

The Portuguese Jesuits proceeded to encourage commotions at home, as they had already done in America. Thus they let loose a storm which effected the annihilation of the order for four decades.

For all the injuries that England had inflicted upon the industry and commerce of Portugal through the introduction of her own productions almost free of duty, Portugal received only a slight indemnification through the 'Methuen Treaty,' concluded by the English ambassador Methuen in 1703, which admitted the wines of Portugal into England on much more favorable conditions than those of France. Thus Portuguese wines were almost alone consumed in Great Britain, so that the trade in them took an extraordinary rise. In order to render the vine-growers more independent of the hard terms of the English buyers, Pombal established, in 1756, the 'General Wine Company of the Upper Douro,' which was secured in the right of pre-emption and some other privileges, and which, on the other hand, was bound to pay an adequate price to the producers according to fixed rules. The Jesuits in Oporto painted this company in the blackest colors; and in February, 1757, a revolt broke out in Oporto, under the leadership of the order, which had to be suppressed by force of arms.

Pombal now held it to be high time for him to proceed against such an open act of hostility. In September, 1757, the confessors of the royal family, all Jesuits, were dismissed, and their order generally was forbidden to appear at court. At the suggestion of the Portuguese government, Pope Benedict XIV., who by reason of his mild and conciliatory disposition was by no means in harmony with the order, prohibited it from engaging in business in any form, as well as from striving after secular dominion. Although commonly the Jesuits in no wise troubled themselves about papal bulls, these were most strictly carried out in Portugal, Cardinal Saldanha, the patriarch of Lisbon, placing himself on the side of the king and the pope. He even suspended the Jesuits within the bounds of his province from the pulpit and confessional. But on the death of Benedict XIV., in May, 1758, Clement XIII., a friend of the order, ascended the papal throne; and Pombal would probably have had greater difficulties in respect of the measures directed against it, had not an unexpected incident changed the aspect of affairs.

In September, 1758, an attempt was made to assassinate the king. Pombal availed himself of this to make his most dangerous enemies among the nobles and clergy harmless. The monarch, still terrified and trembling for his life, was ready for every act of violence. The eminent families of Aveiro and Tavora were branded as the instigators of the crime, and their members were executed with cruel

tortures. Next the Jesuits were accused without the least ground, as it appears, of having advised the king's murder. Immediately ten of their most eminent members were arrested. The whole possessions of the order within the kingdom were confiscated; and finally, in September, 1759, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, it was expelled from Portugal and her colonies. This measure was carried out with rigorous severity.

War was declared in the little kingdom against the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy. New measures of hostility were adopted by the bold minister, conscious of his aim. Royal enactments largely diminished the number of the monasteries, and made entrance into them more difficult. In compensation, everything possible was done to spread knowledge among all classes of the people. Pombal established common schools in great numbers, which gave instruction gratuitously, and thus tended to cure the ignorance and superstition of the lower classes. But the minister cared for the higher studies also. The colleges were reorganized on the basis of national culture, especially of the diligent cultivation of the native tongue. No longer were the young people to waste their time on purely formal grammatical studies of Latin and Greek. Lay instruction, from its highest to its lowest grade, was systematically reorganized with an insight far in advance of the institutions and ideas then prevailing, thus bearing the highest testimony to the creative and far-seeing genius of Pombal. Amongst the various institutions of learning that owed their origin to him was the first commercial high school that ever was founded, the effect of which proved most beneficent for Portugal.

Politically Pombal was the ally of England, although he resolutely repelled every attempt of the more powerful confederate to coerce the little kingdom. In respect of commerce and manufactures, he labored with zeal, and almost with violence, to destroy the overshadowing English influence, not only by founding and developing new manufactures, but also by regulating them. It was, indeed, impossible for his efforts, in this respect, to succeed to the full extent at which he aimed; for it was beyond the power of the most gifted and energetic individual to transform within a short time the inherited condition of a whole people, and convert it into its opposite. Nevertheless, he succeeded in so far that, in the last years of his government, the exports very considerably exceeded the imports, the culture of the vine and manufactures were largely advanced, while

Portugal possessed a good, newly created war marine, an excellently disciplined army of 32,000 men, and a reorganized system of finance which replenished the treasury with 37,000,000 dollars of ready money. Pombal did not regard the colonies merely as sources of wealth for the mother-country, but attempted to give them an abiding civilization.

Meantime the battle between state authority and the order of Jesuits, begun in Portugal, had extended also to the other lands of western and southern Europe. The question here was not in regard to a partial measure or the caprices of a despotic government; the conflict was between the secular and free spirit of enlightenment and the extreme representatives of the ancient and traditional. The quarrel with the Jesuit order was a fight of vanguards in the great battle which the new intellectual and political spirit had begun against the traditions of the Middle Ages, and which culminated in the French Revolution of 1789.

In France the reform spirit found its most efficient coadjutor in the literature which then exercised such a powerful influence on the public mind. Voltaire stood at that time in the zenith of his fame and authority. The whole aristocracy rewarded his frivolous creations with the liveliest applause, little thinking that such views would, to the hurt of the ruling classes, gradually spread from themselves to the masses. Voltaire's romances attacked at once the ecclesiastical and political views then prevailing on the continent of Europe, and mercilessly aimed at overthrowing them. In his philosophical writings, which otherwise were very unimportant, Voltaire (Fig. 28) lauds the convenient sapience of the hedonite, who seeks to satisfy his conscience with a sceptical deism. In order to be independent of the court and government of France, he purchased the estates of Les Délices and Ferney, on the Lake of Geneva, where he afterwards constantly lived. But the 'Hermit of Ferney' did not spend his days in comfortable indolence, and now first proved himself the unwearied champion of justice, and of spiritual and intellectual freedom, against priestly and judicial oppression, and here achieved his most brilliant and noblest triumphs.

In the year 1762 the fanatically Catholic Parlement of Toulouse had condemned to death Jean Calas, a Protestant, on the atrociously absurd charge of having murdered his eldest son on account of his inclination for Catholicism, had caused him to suffer on the wheel, and had sent his whole family to be shut up, as accomplices, in mon-

asteries. Voltaire took up the cause of the unfortunate victims of intolerance with a moral indignation whose sincerity and persistence induce us to overlook many of his faults. With his pen, influence, and money, he was unwearied in his efforts for the Calas family, and brought it about that, in 1765, the council of state quashed the sentence of the Parlement of Toulouse, declared the victimized Calas



FIG. 28. — Voltaire. Drawn at the Château of Ferney in 1764 by Danzel.

innocent, and set all those belonging to him free, the king awarding to him and them a gift of 36,000 livres. It was Voltaire's grandest victory, and at the same time a terrible defeat for the gloomy spirit of persecution dominating the religious political system that prevailed in France from the time of Louis XIV.

And as here, so in many other cases, Voltaire raised his voice in defence of the persecuted and oppressed. He it was who protested against the judicial murder of Lally-Tollendal, and effected

the rehabilitation of the name of the unfortunate governor. His château of Ferney became an asylum for all unjustly prosecuted people. He fought the cause of the peasants of Franche-Comté, pining under the hard serfdom of the monasteries. His words found an enthusiastic echo throughout all Europe. Condorcet says with truth, in his *Life of Voltaire*, "The empress of Russia, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, strove to merit the praise of Voltaire, and supported him in his acts of beneficence. In all lands the magnates and ministers who strove for fame courted the applause of the philosopher of Ferney, and communicated to him their hopes for the progress of rationalism, and their plans for the dissemination of light and the extinction of fanaticism. He had founded an alliance throughout all Europe of which he was the soul, its war-cry being 'Reason and Toleration.' If there was anywhere a gross act of injustice perpetrated, a bloody deed of persecution enacted, or the dignity of humanity violated in any way, a production of Voltaire set the culprit in the pillory before all Europe."

But already a spirit manifested itself among the members of the literary school founded by Voltaire that went far beyond him in daring revolutionary scepticism. While Voltaire never entirely gave up the present as his basis; while his *Écrasez l'infâme* had neither religion nor the monarchy as its object, but only fanaticism, the hierarchy, the feudal system, and violence of every sort, the new party opened a systematic war upon all traditional convictions in respect to religion and morals as well as against political and social distinctions. Atheism and the dissolution of society were preached with a vehemence and intolerance developed quite as strongly by these extreme radical opinions as by religious bigotry. Everything in their philosophy was referred to strictly materialistic and atomistic principles; and their dangerous doctrines found increasingly numerous adherents amongst the masses, and were cordially adopted and propagated even by the blinded higher classes.

The most zealous apostle of these opinions was Denis Diderot (1713-1784), a lively, able, and logical writer, without high genius, but distinguished for acuteness, wit, and firm purpose. Diderot at first took up the position of the English deists, but this soon failed to satisfy him. In his "Introduction to Great Principles," he still resolutely defends the deistic doctrine of the personality of God, and recognizes in Him "the highest reason that has originated everything, and works only through mediate causes." But he did not

long remain at this stage. In his *Lettres sur les aveugles* (1749), he launched the first atheistic pamphlet upon the world, comprising at the same time an open declaration of war against the whole modern moral system. The government believed that it was incumbent on it to proceed with energy against this anti-religious tendency. Diderot was committed to long imprisonment in the fort of Vincennes. Thus Louis XV. placed himself in direct antagonism to the principles of toleration and freedom of thought which then more and more took possession of the minds of men. But the leading circles of France would not allow themselves to be restrained from proceeding anew against an intellectual and spiritual movement by means of brute violence. This course, however, because of the strong current of public opinion, had scarcely any prospect of enduring success. It only set the government in opposition to the general movement, and this opposition had but the effect of undermining the foundations of the state.

Diderot (Fig. 29) was not discouraged by the punishment he had suffered. In the year 1753 he published his main work, *L'Interprétation de la Nature*. Here the being of the Godhead, of a Providence, and the existence of a moral law, are expressly controverted, and men counselled to disabuse their minds of these and similar ideas, and rather occupy themselves with the investigation of those things calculated to increase their material well-being. Matter is self-constituted, eternal, without beginning or end; all processes consist in the play of atoms, which are moved by the force inherent in them. We see from this that Diderot's theory has for its watch-words Force and Matter, and as these have decided the materialistic manner in which the succeeding generations have regarded the universe, the "Interpretation of Nature" comprises the germ of the Darwinian doctrine of Evolution.

A detailed exposition of his ideas Diderot nowhere gives. They appeared to him as self-evident and to be accepted unconditionally. His later philosophical writings comprise only the renewed expression of them, while carrying them out still farther. The modifications of matter, the endless cycle of life, is all that is real. Virtue, vice, self-respect, shame, remorse, are childish prejudices, only to be disregarded. Every man acts as conditions compel him. The extreme consequences of the materialistic doctrine he deduced with a terrible severity of logic, and with an admirable, though practically pernicious, boldness.

Diderot, in his philosophy, took his departure from the Englishmen, — Locke, Shaftesbury, and Bolingbroke, — but ultimately went far beyond them. In like manner, his purely literary productions are based on English patterns. In romance Richardson, in the drama George Lillo and Edward Moore, are his models. It is self-evident that, with such philosophical and political convictions, nothing of the



DENIS DIDEROT

*De l'Académie des Sciences de Berlin**A Paris chez Le Bas, Graveur d'ouvrages de Paris, et Conseiller en son Académie de l'Encyclopédie, Imprimé et Gravé par Le Bas.*

FIG. 29. — Denis Diderot. From a copper-plate engraving by David, a pupil of Le Bas (1707–1783) ; original painting by L. M. van Loo (1707–1771).

ideal, the heroic, or of the grandly elevated, are to be looked for in his novels and theatrical pieces. The practically useful, the narrow burgher sphere, the every-day life of the common people, are therein depicted. This tendency was too much in accord with the rationalistic and levelling spirit of the period of 'enlightenment' not to find acceptance far beyond the boundaries of France. No less a man than Lessing translated two of his chief dramas, — "The Natural Son" and "The Father of a Family," — which were also pro-

duced in Italy. His romances, "The Nun" and "The Nephew of Rameau," depict the moral corruption prevailing in France before the Revolution. The psychological dissertations are characterized by subtlety and keenness; but the cynical contempt of the world, the self-sufficient pessimism predominating in them, have a repulsive effect, and neutralize the charm of even their happy ease of style. Diderot was also an art critic, and that in the spirit of modern 'Naturalism,' which has to recognize him as its father. Only nature, as such, shall the artist produce in all its aspects; but the thoughts and feelings suggested by it are to find no expression. The ennobling, elevating, and purifying spirit of art he fails to take into account.

To-day Diderot is scarcely read; but his influence on the eighteenth century is not for this reason to be undervalued. He was as diligently studied abroad as in France; and though he was known to be the avowed favorite of the empress Catharine II., he nevertheless had a party in his own country. A numerous school of writers, who desired to make themselves notable through the extravagance of their opinions, seized with avidity on his doctrine, and sought to transcend him through proclaiming it in the noisiest possible manner, and in a way to capture the populace. There was the debauchee Lamettrie, a decayed physician, whose philosophy culminated in holding that the highest aim of man ought to be the satisfaction of his appetites. It was by no means creditable to Frederick the Great that he admitted Lamettrie, who realized his own theories in the most scandalous manner, to his society, while Lessing and Mendelssohn were excluded. Claude Helvetius, sprung from a family of the Palatinate, a rich farmer-general of revenue, was induced, through his measureless vanity, to employ his leisure in literary productions of the most pronounced materialistic character. In his book *Sur l'esprit* (1758), he traces man back to the animal standpoint, and, denying all dissimilarity of individual endowments, ascribes all distinctions to adventitious circumstances. These destructive tendencies are propounded with an audacity and impudence that clearly show how much progress they had made among the general public, and how certain they were of popularity. The government believed that it must again vigorously intervene. The Archbishop of Paris, the Sorbonne, and the Parlement branded Helvetius's book as most pernicious. It was publicly burned by the executioner, and the author dismissed from his offices about the court. Helvetius now ventured

to appear in a still more impassioned and aggressive guise in his work *De l'homme*, in which he directly attacks the social and political institutions of France, and denounces them as doomed to irremediable destruction.

Like Helvetius, Baron Paul Henry Thiry d'Holbach was a German (born 1723); but he came early to France, and through his training developed into a full-fledged Frenchman. His wealth enabled him to indulge his vanity, and to make his house the rendezvous of the 'philosophers,' by whom he was mockingly called the 'House Steward of Philosophy.' The good baron was altogether incapable of conceiving a single original thought, but only gave expression to the ideas suggested by his friends and guests. This he did in his *Système de la Nature* in the most barefaced and scandalous manner. In it man is characterized as a machine, felicity as the sole virtue; the ideal, the beautiful, and good — every nobler emotion in man — are branded as false and to be rejected.

The champions of enlightenment, civic freedom, and rationalism felt the necessity of uniting to produce one great literary work which should be at once the manifesto and arsenal for the whole party. Diderot had conceived the idea, and worked at realizing it from 1746. He desired to produce an encyclopaedia of all human knowledge and conceptions on the basis of the new 'philosophy.' For this end he brought himself into connection with all the distinguished writers of France, finding, however, special assistance in d'Alembert.

D'Alembert was born in 1717, the illegitimate child of Madame de Tencin and of Destouches, an officer of engineers. Abandoned by his heartless parents, and brought up by a poor woman, he at an early period showed extraordinary mathematical talent. When not yet twenty-four years of age, he was chosen a member of the Academy of Sciences, but he was no less interested in philosophy and literature. His refined, moderate, and somewhat timid nature recoiled before the brute force of rigid logical deductions. A disciple of Bacon and Locke, and consequently professing the theory of the exclusive experience of the senses, he, nevertheless, turned away with disgust from the boisterous proclamation of crude materialism, and resigned himself to a gentle and modest scepticism.

It was d'Alembert who wrote the scientific introduction to the first volume of the Encyclopaedia (*Encyclopédie*), which appeared from 1751 on. It was a literary achievement which attracted the greatest attention, and secured for its author a place among the forty immor-

tals of the French Academy. He explained, with the greatest clearness and precision, the aim and import of the whole work. After depicting with subtlety and complete understanding the progress of intellectual work in the preceding centuries, he proposes, as the proper object for such work, the elevation of the old learning to the unity of a strictly philosophical, and therefore thoroughly consistent, system of knowledge. This was what the *Encyclopaedia* was designed to comprise—a compendium of all that was worth knowing under a uniform and comprehensive view of the universe.

The representatives of the traditional order of things immediately recognized the danger with which so powerful a party-creation, designed on so grand a scale, threatened them. The Archbishop of Paris issued a pastoral letter against it, which, however, had only the usual effect of making the vast and expensive work sell, and of causing it to be read with avidity. In February, 1752, the government forbade the sale of the first two volumes, which had already appeared. But as the government itself now came to be at variance with the clergy, it, eighteen months later, allowed the publication of the other parts to be proceeded with. But soon such violent and fanatical materialism made itself manifest that Voltaire and d'Alembert withdrew wholly from the work. The *Encyclopedists* no longer constituted the whole body of the philosophers, but only the extreme portion of them, and that the extreme anti-religious portion. The government anew sought to stop the work. In 1757 a law appeared which threatened the compilers, printers, and disseminators of anti-religious books with death. At length the authorities flagged in their opposition, and this the more especially because the *Encyclopaedia* found acceptance in the highest circles. The publication of the seventeenth volume, in 1766, completed the work.

The *Encyclopaedia* is probably the work that, after the Bible, has exercised the most influence on the minds of men. Many might disapprove of individual eccentricities and extravagances; but, on the whole, the entire cultured world accepted the views predominant in it. Much that was superficial and erroneous came, in this way, to affect the manner of thought of the eighteenth century; but in addition to this, it inspired love and enthusiasm for freedom, for the dignity of man, for reason and loyalty to conviction, and inextinguishable hatred of fanaticism, hypocrisy, priestcraft, and arrogant narrowness.

Innumerable books, dissertations, pamphlets, and letters dissemi-

nated the revolutionary doctrines through all the strata of the people; and these received a special political character through the writings of Rousseau. This philosopher had already, in his treatises on the causes of the difference amongst men, indicated the establishment of the political commonwealth — the so-called 'civil contract' — as one of the main causes of all the injustice and misery in the world. Already he had there spoken of citizenship, universal freedom and equality, and the sovereignty of the people. These views and watchwords he expanded into a system in his book, *Du Contrat Social*, appearing in the year 1762, with the same animating and brilliant, and therefore doubly captivating, eloquence which secured for his other works such a deep and permanent influence on the peoples of Europe.

The "Social Contract," following the example of all teachers of the law of nations since the time of Hugo Grotius, starts out from the thoroughly erroneous doctrine of the civil contract, but associates with it the noble principle that no man can alienate his own or his posterity's freedom, and that personal freedom is an inborn and inalienable right of every man. Therefore, Rousseau concludes somewhat capriciously, the primitive peoples could not through the civil contract subordinate the will of all individuals permanently to that of a single individual, but only to the will of the whole people that comprises in itself all individual wills. Every individual is an equally privileged citizen of the entire state, sharing in its guidance, but obeying the laws given out by it. The whole people (totality) cannot wish to hurt itself and is therefore infallible. All powers — the legislative, judicial, executive — belong to the sovereign, that is, to the collective will of the people. This has no other limit than the private rights of the individual. Deputies cannot give expression to this collective will, for that would be for the electors the surrendering of their civic rights of sovereignty. The collective will can be uttered only by the general meetings of the whole people. There the decision rests with the majority, to which the minority must absolutely submit. Distinctions of faith produce dissensions and discord amongst the citizens, therefore the sovereign has the right, and it is its duty, to prescribe a state religion, to which every one has to conform on pain of banishment.

Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* was the gospel of the cultured burgher-class, and, as such, shaped the constitution of 1791; the *Contrat Social* became the gospel of the masses, and shaped that

of 1793, and by so doing prepared the way, much against the will of its philanthropic and sentimental author, for the demagogic Reign of Terror. Here we find all the watchwords of the club-period, — absolute equality of all citizens, sovereignty of the people, official religion of reason, the invalidity of deputies' mandates as against the direct will of the people. In it, too, deadly hatred of monarchy finds expression. Rousseau placed himself in absolute antagonism to enlightened absolutism, and even to constitutional monarchy of the English type. From this the terrorists, thirty years later, got the doctrine, that to bear the name of a king is a crime, and a crime worthy of death.

And yet Rousseau did not see that he was substituting for monarchy a much worse tyranny than that of the despot; that, namely, of the blind masses goaded on by their wild passions. To this tyranny there are no bounds. It dictates the laws, executes them, and pronounces judgment. It affords no room for consideration; right, reason, and experience have no place in it. What accidentally pleases the populace must be carried out. Hereditary respect, intellectual superiority, honestly gained property, are of no account; only numbers are valid. Rousseau did not comprehend that the absolute sovereignty of all destroys the freedom of each individual. In his theory there was no protection for the minority; no senate, no tribunal, to which it could appeal. A majority of even one voice made it defenceless, and devoid of every right. Rousseau satisfied himself with the axiom that the whole body of the people cannot err. The experiences of the much-lauded republics of Athens and Rome might have taught Rousseau of what great and disastrous follies and crimes mob rule is capable.

Rousseau has been wrongly supposed to have been the author of modern socialism. It is true he declares the introduction of private property to have been one of the main causes of human misery. But he recognizes that, now that we are living in an organized state, care for the security of property and respect for it is the first of all civil duties. He only counsels, in his *Discours sur l'économie politique*, the imposition of heavy sumptuary taxes in order to obviate the too great accumulation of riches in the hands of a few.

Further than Rousseau went several of his contemporaries, who plainly derived their views from him. The Abbé Morelly published anonymously, in 1755, his *Code de la Nature*, demanding summarily the abolition of property, as well as of the system of morals

based on it, community of goods, right to work, general free education, the absolute equality of all. Even a meritorious historian and careful thinker like Mably let himself be led astray by the "Social Contract," and sought to go beyond it in his paper on legislation. All these books were eagerly read, and produced a hazy, indistinct, but all the more passionate, intellectual commotion that penetrated more and more deeply into the lower strata of the people.

Rousseau did not assume the rôle of a legislator and reformer in the domain of politics only; he wished to play the same part in that of education. In the same year, 1762, in which his *Contrat Social* appeared, he published his book *Émile, ou de l'Éducation*. In this he justly attacked the then merely mechanical system of education, substituting for it a purely 'natural' system, with a tendency, however, to a one-sided development of the physical powers and instincts. Nevertheless, the great effect produced by the work did not, on the whole, redound to evil. The beneficial impulses communicated by *Émile* have been permanent. In place of the stiff frigidity and dry pedantry with which children had been hitherto treated by teachers and parents, he substituted a much more genial and loving relation, — a true and sympathetic appreciation of the capacities and requirements of the childish mind, and regard to the shamefully neglected development of its body. The whole modern system of education, as later established by Pestalozzi, received its first impetus from the suggestions of Rousseau's *Émile*.

Especially valuable is the third part of this romance, bearing the title of the "Confession of Faith of the Savoy Vicar." In these beautiful narratives, Rousseau breaks no less decidedly with the sceptics and materialists than with the disciples of an irrational orthodoxy. He creates a religion based upon the moral perceptions, and in accord with rational convictions. It was due to this book, above all, that the spark of spiritualism and idealism was not fully quenched in French society, and that all did not become debased into pure sensualism and utilitarianism. But its author had to flee to Neuchâtel, — then Prussian, — where Frederick the Great, although far from being in love with the radical politician, granted him a secure asylum. In his "Letters from the Mountain" he championed the cause of religious and political freedom with a power and enthusiasm that stirred all Europe.

In order to introduce his views to all circles—even to those

usually inaccessible to scientific and philosophical considerations—he embodied them in the form of a romance. The object of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is to exhibit how completely the prevailing morality is at discord with nature, and to depict the conflicts arising out of this antagonism. It aimed at substituting for dogma and the catechism a religion and morality based on just sentiment and sound reason, equally distinct from rigid dogmatism and repulsively distorted materialism. The “New Héloïse” had much greater success in Germany than in France, where it was severely attacked. No author had probably ever before produced such an effect upon a foreign people as Rousseau did upon the Germans. His enthusiastic temperament, his interest in religion, his depth of feeling, combined with the independence and fearlessness of his nature, moved the hearts of all Germany in sympathy with him. But in France also Rousseau’s delineations awakened a taste for nature and a natural life.

Thoroughly moderate, as compared with the advocates of these reform tendencies, appeared those men who were then known as ‘philosophical economists’ and today as ‘political economists.’ And yet — though not lending the Revolution its abiding character — they, in a great measure, gave the first impulse to it. Since the days of Colbert, the ‘mercantile system’ had controlled the commercial and financial policy of France. This system aimed at developing commerce and manufactures at the expense of agriculture, on which the main burden of maintaining the state ultimately rested. The indirect taxes, the poll-tax, the gratuitous construction of roads, were all imposed on husbandry, which was the occupation of the peasantry, and which was pursued by at least twenty of the then twenty-five millions of Frenchmen. But to these peasants there belonged only one-third of the soil: fully two-thirds were in possession of the greater land-owners, the clergy, and the nobles, who seldom saw their estates and retainers, and troubled themselves still less about them, but squandered the income drawn from them in the cities, and especially at the court. Their estates were parcelled out to farmers, who had generally to pay their lord the half of the produce (*métayers*). By reason of this enormous impost, the tenants had neither interest in improving nor the means to improve their acres, which became miserably run down, and yielded very poor crops. In a like manner the lower classes in the cities were despoiled of their rights through the rigorous restrictions imposed on them by the guilds, in favor of the wealthier families of the masters.

Already Vauban and Boisguillebert had, under Louis XIV., recognized and exposed the wrongfulness of these conditions. In a still more comprehensive and effective manner, Cantillon, in his *Essai sur la nature du commerce*, assailed the mercantile system, to which he mainly attributed the economic backwardness of France as compared with England, because the former attached exaggerated importance to industry as compared with husbandry. The two permanent foundations for all trade and national prosperity he held to be agriculture and fisheries, which alone enabled a sound and solid system of traffic to be established.

Cantillon's theory — which men called the 'physiocratic' — was first truly developed, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, by the physician Quesnay (Fig. 30) and the merchant Gournay. François Quesnay (1694–1774), the favorite physician of Louis XV., was a rigid monarchist, but, nevertheless, a true philanthropist, and in close intercourse with the Encyclopedists. In a series of works on political economy he distinguishes three classes, — the producing class, the distributing class (that is, commercial men), and the receiving class (officials, teachers, artists, etc.); and of these he declares the first to be the most important and the absolutely indispensable, from which the other classes are derived, and without which they could not exist. The surplus income of the landed proprietor over expenses (*produit net*) is the source which feeds manufacture and commerce, the arts and sciences, and from which the state derives its taxes. Without perceiving that manufactures and commerce, as well as agriculture, create new values, he saw in the last the only productive industry, and urged, therefore, that those employed in it, and especially the actual tillers of the soil, should be delivered from forced labor, that the grain trade should be declared free, and all internal customs duties abrogated. His system found an enthusiastic advocate in the Provençal Marquis of Mirabeau the Elder, the father of the renowned Revolutionary orator. Gournay was somewhat more moderate, appreciated the value of manufactures as well as of husbandry, advocated the removal from both of restrictions of every kind, such as guilds, monopolies, and the like, and already showed that free competition was the life-nerve of the well-being of a state. With him is said to have originated the famed and now so much controverted principle, *Laissez faire, laissez passer*.

One-sided as the physiocratic theory was, and little scientific value as it possessed, it at least served as a counterpoise to the unjust and

illiberal mercantile system. Its principles found admission into the administration of foreign lands as well as of France; but in the latter country they met with obstinate resistance from traditional views and prejudices.



FIG. 30. — François Quesnay. From a copper-plate engraving, 1767, by Jean Charles François (1717-1769); original painting by Fredou.

More and more irresistibly did the craving for a change in the condition of the whole French people take possession of the public mind. The learned societies and the inferior clergy were seized by it. Polemical treatises, brochures, and letters appeared almost daily. Every man had these productions in his hand, and craved more and

more ardently that their demands should be conceded and the abuses abolished. Timid attempts to defend the traditional system experienced more and more the antagonism of the public, their authors being regarded as accomplices of the police. Already even the highly conservative parlements ventured to demand the limitation of the royal power, and guaranties for the personal freedom of the individual. Even before the Revolutionary literature attained full sway, parliamentarism, Jansenism, and the constant abuse of the authority of the king, had paved the way for these demands: this fact is too frequently forgotten, and the influence of the 'philosophers' overrated accordingly.

Outside of this reform movement and its noisy debates stood, in modest simplicity, a true philosopher, Étienne de Condillac (1715-1780). He, too, at first adopted Locke's views; but in his main work, *Traité des sensations*, he advances to a purely materialistic development of the theory of cognition, referring all perceptions, judgments, and conclusions to the impressions of the senses, and their necessary and inevitable consequences.

All scientific observation of details became expanded at this time into half philosophical, half fanciful, general views. This characteristic appears most clearly in the admirable, and yet so defective, works of the great investigator of nature, Buffon (1707-1788), whose *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* presents, in a captivating style, a noble picture of the whole animal world, although its more specific details are in a great measure erroneous, or at least inexact.

In order to appreciate the great power of this rich, varied, and yet on the whole transient literature, in the France of that day, we must remember that that country, in consequence of her continuous mischances abroad, losses, and humiliations, was great and important only through her literature, which exercised an influence far greater than that which the daily press now enjoys. And the effectiveness of this literature was increased through the influence of the Parisian *salons*,—those social circles which highly accomplished and wealthy ladies gathered around them, consisting of learned men, writers of eminence, and their own high-born friends, who, as a class, favored the reform tendency, and not only influenced public opinion, but in a great measure created it. Never did the social talent, inherent in the French mind, celebrate more brilliant triumphs than in the eighteenth century. 'Society' ruled as an absolute monarch, and

brought politics, religion, science, and literature before its judgment-seat, and decided upon everything with spirit, wit, and light-hearted volatility. Almost every work was laid before some *salon* before being given out to the public. This circumstance contributed in an extraordinary degree to the dissemination of the writings and views of the French authors of the period throughout all Europe. While Versailles, as seat of the court, gave the tone to France, Paris, from the middle of the century, was its intellectual centre. The government itself was partly responsible for this, its persistent striving after absolute power and rigorous centralization having drawn all political life to Paris. Thus it happened that in the period of the Revolution Paris alone decided everything.

The revolution had been already accomplished in the minds of men before it embodied itself in facts. It would be false to ascribe it directly to the writings of the 'philosophers.' These, indeed, gave it its leaders of the higher classes; but the masses of the people were brought to embrace it mainly by the sufferings they endured as well as by the worthlessness and the heartless self-seeking of the government and the ruling classes, and the abuses practised by them. The intellectual tendencies to revolution, and the degeneracy of the French state, led up, in various ways, to the great cataclysm. The aristocracy, interested most of all in the maintenance of the present condition of things, were wont to make themselves merry over the situation, and to declare it intolerable. They derided the government, and did homage quite openly to that materialism preached by Diderot and his school. This was the mode, and the lords and ladies of the great world accommodated themselves to it. Even the clergy, especially those of higher rank, participated in the general infidelity and immorality. Every member of good society had a 'feeling heart,' and grieved, in theory, at the lot of the poor and starving, while the radical views propounded by sophistical thinkers found ready acceptance with superficially cultured minds. It cost so little to accept and avow them, while they constituted an excellent subject for the exhibition of wit. No one suspected that weapons were thus being pressed into the hands of their enemies, who were soon to awaken them from their beautiful dreams, and rudely assert equality with them.

These conditions were not confined to France. The supremacy which the French language had then acquired over all Europe disseminated such views and sentiments throughout all that quarter

of the globe. The works of Voltaire and Rousseau, of Cantillon and Quesnay, kindled men's hearts everywhere. The whole cultured world appeared to be in a conspiracy against traditional institutions and ideas.

A society so constituted was necessarily embittered to the utmost against the Jesuits; and we know, in point of fact, that the public sentiment was most implacably hostile to them. The events in Portugal, and the war of annihilation that Pombal had waged against them in that country, admonished their numberless foes in France to similar procedure. And it was not long till they themselves gave their enemies the very pretext best suited for their purpose.

In spite of the express and repeated prohibition of Pope Benedict XIV., the French Jesuits had persevered in prosecuting their lucrative trade in the colonies. Father La Valette had, as president of the Jesuit West India Mission, established vast plantations on the island of Martinique, and, in the name of the order, disposed of their produce to excellent advantage. A Marseilles house accepted bills of exchange from him to the amount of two and a half million francs; but when some ships freighted by La Valette were captured by the English, and the father became insolvent, the order disavowed all responsibility, because La Valette, by engaging in commercial enterprises, had transgressed the rules of the Society of Jesus. The Marseilles house, threatened with bankruptcy, then got a judgment from the Court of Commerce of that city which held La Valette and his superior, Father de Saey, liable for payment, and declared the whole order, with its properties situated in France, jointly amenable. Instead of obviating greater misfortune by redeeming the bills, the order was indiscreet enough to appeal to the most inimical Parlement of Paris.

This court joyfully availed itself of the occasion to strike the Society of Jesus a fatal blow. As it had now to decide whether La Valette had violated the constitutions of the company or not, it demanded and succeeded in obtaining the production of the statutes of the order, hitherto so carefully kept secret; and after finding these not to be legally binding, and condemning the society to the payment of the two and a half millions, it declared a number of these laws to be seditious and dangerous to the state, and several of the privileges conferred on the company by the popes to be abuses and invalid. The works of twenty-four Jesuit authors were ordered

to be publicly burned by the executioner, all their schools and novitiates were closed, and the subjects of the king debarred from holding intercourse with them.

These hard decisions — the revenge of the Jansenists for their earlier persecution by the order — were received by the public with almost unanimous approbation. In vain did the French Jesuits seek to save themselves through the cowardly expedient of submitting themselves to the decrees of 1683, formerly so bitterly denounced by them. Even the larger number of the bishops showed themselves hostile to them. Choiseul, then prime minister, who was on the friendliest footing with the Jansenists and the Parlement of Paris, did nothing whatever to avert the doom impending over them. The Parlement was free to go still further. The very merits of the Jesuits contributed to their ruin, for since they urged the banishment of the royal mistresses from the court, the Pompadour labored with all zeal to prejudice the monarch against the order, and brought him more and more over to the side of the Parlement. On August 6, 1762, the latter body enacted the decisive decree, dissolving the society of the Jesuits in France as being incompatible with the welfare of the state. Yet permission was granted to individual Jesuits to remain in the kingdom, and to retain possession of their ecclesiastical preferments, on condition of their swearing to renounce all community with the order and its doctrines, so far as the same were directed against the royal authority. As a matter of course, few were found to accede to the condition, whereupon the Parlement, in March, 1764, decreed the banishment of all Jesuits from France, a sentence which the king mitigated by permitting such of them to remain as were willing to submit to episcopal jurisdiction and the laws of the state. At all events the order, as such, was extirpated in France, one of its greatest and richest provinces. From the close understanding existing between the different Bourbon princely houses, the other branches of the family were disposed to proceed against the society in the way that had been adopted in France. In vain did Pope Clement XIII. attempt to come to the help of the Jesuits and to defend their order through the constitution *Apostolicum pascendi*, prepared in deepest secrecy, January, 1765, and directly pronouncing the society as sacred. In almost all the Catholic states the dissemination of the constitution was most strictly prohibited, in some cases on pain of death. Everywhere it had as a consequence the adoption of measures hostile to the order, most of

all, however, in the state that had been the stronghold of the most exclusive Catholicism.

Spain had been, since the accession of the Bourbons to its throne, engaged in a violent conflict with the Holy See in regard to the powers of the state and church, which, after lasting for half a century, was settled by the concordat of 1753, conceding to the crown the nomination to nearly all the ecclesiastical dignities of Spain, and by so doing acknowledging the justice of the views it maintained. Within their state these Bourbons meddled in no way with the power and wealth of the national church. In a land which at the beginning of the eighteenth century numbered not more than five millions of inhabitants, there were no fewer than 180,000 clergy; that is, one to every twenty-eight souls. There were, indeed, among these, 110,000 monks, and only 22,000 priests. The church enjoyed a yearly revenue of nearly 400,000,000 reals, or \$20,000,000, more by far than that of the state.

The Bourbons endeavored to inspire the effete land and people with new life and fresh strength. Under Philip V., the army and navy were reorganized, and a most beneficial impulse given to manufactures and commerce. Literature also, particularly historical literature and such as related to political economy, unfolded its blossoms anew. Ferdinand VI., on his part, intrusted the guidance of internal affairs almost entirely to a man in many respects resembling Choiseul — namely, the Marquis of Ensenada. This minister, formerly a professor of mathematics, was thoroughly imbued by the French spirit of innovation, unwearied in his efforts at reform, a man of ability, but without great store of political knowledge or strength of will. Nevertheless, he effected much good in many departments, and that the more especially as he was kept within bounds by his adversary, Carvajal. Through a revenue of 360,000,000 reals (\$17,525,000), the state budget was not only brought to an equilibrium, but on the death of the king 300,000,000 reals (\$14,540,000) were found in the treasury. Ensenada conceived the beneficent idea of superseding the indirect taxes, collected at immense cost, by a judiciously apportioned income tax; but this scheme was too radical to be carried out. On the other hand, however, he was successful in freeing the deeply depressed Spanish agriculture from its heaviest burdens, and in materially promoting it by the abolition of internal duties on grain, and by the improvement of the means of communication. Devoted though the king was

PLATE IX.



Ferdinand VI., King of Spain.

From an engraving by J. D. Herz (1693-1754).

* *History of All Nations*, Vol. XV., page 141.

to the church, the power of the Inquisition was materially restricted. On the other hand, science and learning were favored in every way. Unfortunately Ensenada did not, like Pombal, labor in the cause of popular education; for he, like his Parisian contemporaries, considered that the lower classes should be kept dependent on, and subordinate to, those of higher rank. In the year 1754 he fell a victim to the English influence then predominant in Madrid; yet he was quickly liberated from the prison to which he had been committed, and, most of the charges brought against him being found thoroughly groundless, he was endowed with an honorable pension.

On August 10, 1759, Ferdinand VI. (PLATE IX.), as already mentioned, died childless. He was succeeded by his half-brother Charles (Fig. 31), up to this time ruler of Naples and Sicily. As Charles's eldest son was imbecile, and his second son destined to be his successor in Spain, his Italian domains fell to his third son, Ferdinand. This last was still a minor; and Naples enjoyed for years the beneficent guidance of the Marquis Tanucci, whom Charles had nominated as president of the council of regency.

The new king of Spain, who now assumed the title of Charles III., was estranged from the land of his birth by nearly thirty years' absence. Without regard to the tenacious nature of its people and their prejudices, Charles resolved, through the help of two Neapolitans whom he had brought with him, — the Marquises Grimaldi and Squillace, — to extend to Spain the reforms that he had introduced in Naples. He made the two Italians his ministers. Squillace entered with zeal on the path pursued by Ensenada, going even beyond him in it. Notwithstanding Spain's unfortunate participation in the Seven Years' War, her finances were maintained in exemplary order, security and peace restored to the land, the capital modernized by street police and lighted at night, and the encroachments of the clergy repressed with firmness. Squillace essentially restricted the censure of books as practised by the Inquisition; and by a decree of January 18, 1762, all papal bulls, briefs, and provisions had to be submitted for approval to the royal council of Castile before they acquired validity in Spain.

The Spaniards were indignant because they were ruled by foreigners. Three bad harvests, and the dearth consequent on them, were directly referred to the diabolical devices of the hated alien ministers. The clergy, who saw in Squillace the declared enemy of their prerogatives, fomented this bad feeling with all their power,

and endeavored to mould it for their own ends. Patriotism and religion appeared to be in a conspiracy against the despised Neapolitans. A well meant but despotic decree, through which Squillace



FIG. 31.—Charles III. of Spain. From a copper-plate engraving by Raffaello Sanzio Morghen (1758-1833); original painting by A. R. Mengs (1728-1779).

tried to substitute for the national costume the ordinary attire of Europe, gave the secret leaders of the populace a pretext for resorting to violence. The outbreak occurred on Palm Sunday (March

23, 1766). The soldiers and police were hunted down and slaughtered, the houses of Squillace and Grimaldi wrecked, the palace of the king even threatened. Crucifix in hand, a monk at the head of the infuriated mob compelled the king to dismiss Grimaldi and banish Squillace, as also to revoke their most obnoxious ordinances. Squillace withdrew to Sicily, till, some years later, Charles sent him as his envoy to Venice.

But Charles III. was just as firmly resolved that the royal power should not be made subject to the caprices of street mobs and their secret leaders, and that he would persevere in the path on which he had entered, and avenge himself on the authors of the commotions. It was not long doubtful where he had to look for these. The warnings of Tanucci and of his other trusted servants recurred to his mind. To the place of first minister he called a Spaniard, but a Spaniard of like mind with Squillace, — the Aragonese, Count Aranda, an enlightened, benevolent, and energetic statesman. Aranda was able to suppress the disorders rather through kindly treatment than through violence. He reorganized the civic administrations, and brought it about that the communal representatives of Madrid themselves petitioned the king to revoke all the concessions made to the mutineers. Then Aranda proceeded, with the full approval of the monarch, directly against the clergy.

The wrath of the king was directed especially against the Jesuits. To investigate the causes of the uprising, Charles instituted a secret junta, comprising several eminent jurists and the renowned political economist Campomanes, which found incontestable evidence that the suspicion entertained in regard to the Jesuits was justified in fullest measure. The events in Portugal and France confirmed his resolution to extirpate utterly the order in Spain. The work was taken in hand with extraordinary promptitude and in deepest secrecy.

In the night between March 31 and April 1, 1767, all the Jesuits in Madrid — and next night the members of the order in all the provinces and colonies — were apprehended by the police and soldiers, conveyed to various seaports, and then, to the number of six thousand, deported at once to the States of the Church, to be “under the immediate, wise, and sacred guidance of His Holiness.” Clement refused to allow the unfortunate Jesuits to land. Charles then induced the French minister, Choiseul, to admit them into the wild and disorderly island of Corsica, whence the pope at length had

them conveyed to the States of the Church. All Clement's representations against the suppression of the order in Spain Charles rejected categorically. All the Spanish universities were strictly forbidden to teach the dogmas peculiar to the Jesuits, and the return of any of their members was prohibited on pain of death.

Charles III., not yet satisfied with his revenge, exerted his whole influence to move his son, Ferdinand IV. of Naples, and his minister Tanucci, to drive the Jesuits out of that country also. From Tanucci's well-known sentiments, this was not difficult to effect. In November, 1767, the members of the order were deported from both Sicilies.

Of the Bourbon courts, Parma was now the only one left to be dealt with. Clement XIII. was embittered to the utmost against the House of Bourbon. The powerful sovereigns of France, Spain, and Naples he did not dare to attack directly; but he believed he could strike them in their most sensitive part by wreaking his revenge on the weakest member of the house, Duke Ferdinand I. of Parma. This prince, still very young, had committed the government to a Frenchman, Guillaume du Tillot, an ardent convert to the principles of the 'enlightenment.' He stripped the clergy of the power of acquiring landed property, made them subject to the same taxes that the lay population had to pay, and prohibited them from appealing to Rome against the native ecclesiastical authorities. Thereupon Clement issued a vehement *Monitorium* against Ferdinand I., in which all the counsellors and executors of the ecclesiastico-political laws lately promulgated in Parma were threatened with the ban. To justify his procedure he appealed not only to the bull *In coena Domini*, whose extreme hierarchical claims had never been acknowledged by the Catholic powers, but also to Parma's feudal dependence on the Holy See. This attack of the pontiff on Parma had only the consequence of uniting the Bourbon courts against the Jesuits and their patron more closely than before. Within a month from the issuing of the *Monitorium* the Jesuits, to the number of 150, were deported from Parma to the States of the Church, and their properties, as in Spain and Naples, seized by the state. They were also driven forth from Corsica and Malta. The great Bourbon courts regarded the procedure of Clement XIII. as an act of hostility directed against them all, as in truth it was. When the pope did not give the satisfaction demanded in a collective note by their envoys, France took possession of the counties of Venaissin and Avignon,

while Naples occupied its papal enclaves Benevento and Pontecorvo. Clement XIII., humbled through the feeling of his powerlessness, besought the Empress Maria Theresa for protection for her religion and church; but this princess also was roused to anger by the pontiff's ill-timed claims for power. She prohibited the publication of the bull *In coena Domini* in her dominions, and caused such copies as were found to be burned.

Spain, who had assumed the leadership in the whole campaign against the Jesuits, now, for the first time, spoke the decisive word. In August, 1768, she demanded the immediate suppression of the order. In the beginning of the next year Portugal, France, Naples, and Sicily joined in the demand. The threatened annihilation of the order so highly esteemed by him broke the heart of Clement XIII., now in his eighty-third year. On February 2, 1769, he suddenly died.

The four Bourbon courts, as well as Portugal, now attached the utmost importance to elevating a cardinal devoted to themselves to the chair of St. Peter. At length the college decided to elect a peasant's son of weak character, who owed his advancement to the Jesuits, Lorenzo Ganganelli. It has been a matter of controversy whether he had formally pledged himself to the crowns, before his election, to the abolition of the order, and so won their support for his acquisition of the tiara. Documents emanating from himself leave us in little doubt in regard to some such simoniacal compact, however much all the parties sought to disavow it.

Clement XIV. (Fig. 32), the title assumed by the new pope, was, in his heart, in nowise inclined to comply with the wishes of the five courts. He therefore continually found new pretexts for postponing the fatal measure. The fall of the enlightened Choiseul, and his replacement by the bigoted Duke d'Aiguillon, in 1770, gave him the hope that it might be altogether abandoned. But Charles III., who had made the destruction of the order his lifetask, held the French court firmly to the resolution it had once avowed. Maria Theresa's assent was required as the dowry of her daughter, Marie Antoinette, on her marriage with the dauphin. At length the unhappy Ganganelli had to give way before the threats of the powers and their reminders of the pledges he had given them. On July 21 he issued the brief, *Dominus ac redemptor*, through which, under heavy accusations, he abolished the order of the Jesuits. There were at that time 22,589 Jesuits, of whom about half had



*FRANCISCO DE SOLIS FOLCH DE CARDONA S. R. E.
Basilica S. S. XII Apostolicae univ. Presbyteri Caplinati Archiep. Hispalens. Viri magnifico
optime quae de Romanis bonis quae in his in civitate bene EROSDEM PONTIFICIS EFFIGIEM summo
studio a se depictam Joh. Dominicus Porta pictor. imaginarius Pontificius animo libens
D. D. D.*

FIG. 32. — Pope Clement XIV. Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving by D. Cunego (1727-1794); original painting by J. D. Porta.

entered priestly orders. The provisions of the brief were so hard that they met with general disapproval; Venice, for example, mitigating their execution in her territory. In the main, however, it was carried out by all Catholic Europe without the least delay, even the pious Empress Maria Theresa complying with it. The possessions of the Austro-Hungarian Jesuits, valued at three million florins, were seized by the state; but when the pope ordered that these should be made over to the other spiritual orders, he found no one to listen to him. The various governments confiscated the respective possessions in favor of their treasuries. The only sovereigns who maintained the order in their states were the Protestant Frederick the Great and the schismatic Czarina Catharine II. of Russia. The former held it perfectly harmless, and saw in its Silesian members able and very cheap teachers of the youth. Catharine, on her part, favored the society in her Polish acquisitions, using it as a tool for Russianizing Poland. This unhappy kingdom found in the Jesuits the most zealous servants of its most merciless oppressor. In return, Catharine allowed them to choose a vicar-general to themselves, who, in 1782, formally assumed the rank of General of the Order.

It is not true, as has been said, that Clement experienced severe qualms of conscience on account of his treatment of the Jesuits; but it is true, on the other hand, that the remnants of the order everywhere showed him the bitterest enmity, harassing his very soul. So it can easily be understood, that when he suddenly died, on September 21, 1774, not yet seventy years of age, men attributed his demise to poison administered by the Jesuits. Many surgeons who were present at the autopsy, and several influential cardinals, and even his successor, were of this opinion. But it is perfectly possible that the noxious climate of Rome, and the constant state of dread in which he lived for the plots of the order, sufficiently account for his untimely end.

The dissolution of the order of the Jesuits was one of the most weighty links in the chain of events which evidenced the invasion of the governments of the period by the purely worldly and the anti-Christian spirit, and which established 'enlightened absolutism' in nations hitherto the most backward of all. In sacrificing this order, which had been its most zealous champion, in deference to pressure brought to bear on it by the secular powers, the papacy plainly acknowledged its claims to be untenable, and owned itself defeated. This result was only another evidence of the general re-

volt against the hierarchy. In consequence of all this, restrictions were imposed on the regular clergy; and their numbers diminished throughout all Catholic Europe, even in the Austria of Maria Theresa. In several Italian states the Inquisition was abolished; and the people, with every demonstration of joy, burned the papers of the hated tribunal in the public squares.

In this spirit, Count Aranda, formerly ambassador in Paris, and imbued with the literary influences prevailing there, as well as with the views of Choiseul, set to work to transform the character of his people. He was supported in this by his colleague, — Count Florida-Blanca, an able diplomat, who, as ambassador in Rome, had conducted the negotiations that resulted in the abolition of the order of the Jesuits. In conjunction with these two politically energetic men, Campomanes labored for the economic renaissance of the nation. In 1773 Aranda had to give way before his numerous personal enemies, and returned to his ambassadorial post in Paris. After a short administration by Grimaldi, Florida-Blanca, in 1777, accepted the position of first minister, which he filled with his long proved ability. Under such distinguished, and yet such peculiarly and variously endowed, leaders Spain experienced a period of prosperity and development in every field, which, unfortunately for the much-tried land, was of short duration. The extensive, but hitherto wholly neglected, communal lands were partitioned, and conferred on industrious husbandmen. The grain-trade was emancipated from every restriction. The state established magazines to provide against years of dearth or famine. The coinage and the financial system were reorganized on new principles. All raw materials, in whatever quantities, were admitted free of duty. The system of taxation was reformed in accord with rational principles. The power of the civil, and especially of the judicial, magistracy was raised so as to be above military and hierarchical caprice. The police system was remodelled so as to give public security. A law strictly regulated the yearly levy for the military service, and reduced the number of the classes exempted from it. Indeed, there was no branch of the national life and state administration to which this government did not direct its well-meant and zealous, though no doubt sometimes mistaken, efforts. The lands, buildings, and revenue set free through the expulsion of the Jesuits were, for the most part, devoted to the institution of a system of secular education. The teachers had to submit to an examination by the state, but were compensated therefor by the bestowal of

numerous privileges. The universities were reformed. A national economic society was formed, consisting of the most eminent grandees, statesmen, and experts of the land, in order to promote, theoretically and practically, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and this society had active branches in all the more important cities. The results of their studies were soon visible. The system of public charities, the poor laws, and vagabond laws were reformed in the most effective manner. Canals were constructed, especially with the object of irrigating the arid Spanish soil. The king and his children established model farms for the improvement of husbandry. The legislation favored the tiller of the soil, and protected him against oppression and spoliation by his landlord. In like manner, skilled artisans and engineers were attracted hither from abroad, and machines and models purchased to promote the fabrication of similar objects at home. The fine arts were liberated from all guild fetters. The trade with America, which formerly had been limited to Cadiz and Seville, was made free to all, thus tripling itself, while the custom-duties accruing to the state were doubled. A trading-company was established for the Philippines, and, what was of more importance, a national bank. Though all these reforms were never fully completed, still a general impetus was given to improvement everywhere. This reform movement, like those of Frederick the Great and Joseph II., of Pombal and Tanucci, was of a strictly monarchical character. But it effected more good for the Spanish people than all the spasms of democracy, taken together, have done for it in the nineteenth century. To this day the Spanish look back on the period of Charles III. as the golden age of their country.

With no less ability did Florida-Blanca conduct the external policy of Spain. He brought at length the long continued boundary quarrel between Spain and Portugal in South America to a close favorable to the former (1777), and next year entered into a close commercial and political alliance with Portugal, highly advantageous to both states. Treaties with Turkey and the Barbary States secured the Spanish marine on the Mediterranean; besides all this, despite of Spain's participation in the American war (1779-1783), the finances were in the best order.

Clement XIV. had offered peace to Portugal also, and found Pombal very ready to meet him half-way. So long as King Joseph lived, all the intrigues against Pombal, even when fostered by members of the royal family, came to nothing, owing to the implicit con-

fidence of the sovereign in his minister. But after the monarch's death (February, 1777), a complete revolution at once set in.

Joseph had left only daughters. The eldest, who was altogether in the hands of the clergy, undertook the government with the title of Queen Maria I. Pombal was promptly dismissed, though at first with every mark of favor. The fanatical part of the clergy were now at an advantage in every way. Pombal's written defences against the more and more violent accusations of his adversaries were condemned by the court of justice and destroyed. At length a criminal investigation was instituted against him, now a man of eighty years. As powerful friends still interested themselves for Pombal, he was only exiled to the provinces, and death soon delivered him from the attacks of his enemies.

Maria I., by nature a mild and noble woman, was so possessed by a fanatical piety that it more and more clouded her soul, till at length the unfortunate princess became a victim of insanity. She made the clergy and the high nobility again the ruling powers in the kingdom. In place of the educational institutions founded by Pombal, monasteries arose, and the common schools were put under the charge of the clergy. Notwithstanding, the higher education was still an object of particular care to the new government, which no less sedulously continued the plans initiated by Pombal for the promotion of commerce and manufactures. Thus the good work effected by the minister was in some measure, at least, perpetuated. That the Portuguese people have remained prosperous, industrious, and contented during the whole nineteenth century is mainly due to the well-directed efforts of Sebastião José de Pombal.

Not the Pyrenean peninsula alone, but all the peoples of Europe, felt the influence of the predominant French culture. Even remote Russia could not escape it. Her poetical literature assumed, under the dramatist Lomonosoff, and Demetrius Cantemir, an exiled Moldavian prince, at once historian and satiric poet, a thoroughly French character. Catharine II. cherished still more unqualified admiration for the French intellect than Frederick the Great himself. She caused regular reports to be sent her by Baron Grimm in regard to the literary situation in Paris. She invited Diderot to St. Petersburg, whose cold climate and autocratic atmosphere he was unable to bear for any length of time. She gave a pension to d'Alembert, who was bitterly hated and persecuted in France.

Much deeper were the effects produced in Italy. A school of

jurists and politicians arose in this land wholly subject to the influence of the latest French literature, and especially of Montesquieu. The Milanese Cesare Bonesano, Marquis of Beccaria (1735-1793), published in 1764 his renowned work "On Crimes and Punishments." "In order that every punishment," he said, "shall not be an act of violence perpetrated by an individual, or several individuals, upon a private citizen, it must be public, speedy, necessary, as gentle as possible proportionate to the offence, and prescribed by the laws." In these few pregnant words Beccaria has summed up the whole programme of modern times for the administration of justice. He was also an effective worker for the abolition of the death penalty.

And as jurisprudence, so there flourished in Italy its related science of political economy. For the first time agriculture found, in 1765, an academic instructor in Piero Arduino of Padua. Lodovico Ricci of Modena was a gifted and zealous advocate of Gournay's individualistic doctrine, which again found an ardent antagonist in Federico Galliani of Foggia. Palmieri of Lecce mediated between these two with the result of producing a sound and rational eclecticism. The renowned Beccaria entered the lists here. Although on the whole a physiocrat, he moulded this doctrine in an original and judicious manner. His work "On Agriculture and Manufactures" contains many views which Adam Smith carried further in his later work. A lively interest in political economy and political theories took possession of the cultured classes of the peninsula.

The mild and enlightened tendency in jurisprudence found practical realization in at least one portion of Italy. After the death of the Emperor Francis I., his second son, Leopold, inherited the grand-duchy of Tuscany; and the twenty-five years of his reign (1765-1790) constituted the happiest epoch for that rich and highly civilized state. Leopold carried out a ripely thought-out system of useful and seasonable reforms. He came first to the aid of agriculture, by parcelling out the comparatively unproductive communal pasture-lands, and submitting them to more intensive cultivation, by checking the extension of the greater estates through limiting the right of succession according to primogeniture, and by facilitating the sale of uncultivated properties. He abolished the grand-ducal monopolies of tobacco, of the manufacture of iron and other wares, which had been established through the fiscal policy of the later Medicis; suppressed the custom-house lines in the interior of the

state, and built numerous roads and bridges. In the interests of commerce, he granted full freedom of conscience to all the foreigners living in the seaport of Leghorn. Contrary to the practice of enlightened absolutism elsewhere, he granted the representatives of the communes greater independence in the administration of the communal lands and the fixing of the communal taxes. Especially salutary was his reform of the judicial system. In place of the numerous local laws, he established a uniform system of legislation and a well-ordered administration of justice. The new criminal code was thoroughly imbued with the humanitarian ideas of the eighteenth century. It abolished torture, the confiscation of goods, and, for the first time in history, the punishment of death.

The anti-clerical sentiment of the period found expression in Leopold's innovations. By increasing the fixed incomes of the priests, he was able to abolish the burdensome church-tithes. The parishes were allotted by public competition, ecclesiastical brotherhoods were prohibited, and a tolerably advanced age fixed for the profession of the monastic vow. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction was restricted to religious offences, and could impose only ecclesiastical penalties, while the clergy were subject to the civil law for all transgressions of it.

In the other Italian land ruled by the house of Lorraine-Hapsburg — Lombardy — equally favorable conditions prevailed. The finances were in excellent order, the taxes reduced, and the internal custom-house lines swept away. Roads and canals were constructed and the cities beautified. The state university, Pavia, flourished under excellent professors, native and foreign. Here Volta, the great physicist, taught. The government rewarded meritorious authors, and carefully collected and published original historical documents. But Sardinia and Piedmont, under Charles Emmanuel III., an uncultured and distrustful prince, was one of the most backward and rudest countries of the peninsula. And on the east of Lombardy, in the territory of Venice, the degradation was still deeper. The population was, indeed, still 4,500,000, and the yearly revenue still 6,000,000 ducats; but corruption was everywhere rampant. Certain rich families purchased the poor nobles, — the 'Barnabotti,' — and through their votes dominated the Great Council and all magisterial offices. The people were kept in check by espionage and division into castes, namely, citizens and plebeians. Every quarter of the city, every industry, had special and unequal prerogatives. The external policy of the republic was that of weakness and fear. Still

worse was the state of matters in the States of the Church. Father Beccatini, a contemporary of Pope Pius VI., acknowledges, in a eulogistic biography of this prince, that, with the exception of Turkey, there was no land worse governed than that of the pope. The corn-trade was a monopoly of the government; industry was all but extinct. The land-tax was farmed out for a miserable 40,000 ducats, although it would easily have brought double. The people, notwithstanding the countless priesthood, were utterly brutalized. In the eleven years of the rule of Clement XIII., 12,000 murders were discovered, and of these not fewer than 4000 were perpetrated in the city of Rome. Pius VI. was, indeed, a man of fine, majestic appearance, an elegant and impressive orator, full of boundless ambition, but without solid merits. After more than two centuries, he was the first to revive nepotism. In this and similar ways he renewed the abuses of the popes of the fifteenth century.

In Naples the innovations continued to be limited to the ecclesiastico-political domain. Here the tyrannical disposition of King Ferdinand IV. led him to be influenced by the anti-hierarchical views of Tanucci. Ferdinand appointed the bishops of his kingdom without any ratification by the Vatican, and prohibited them from making use in their titles of the words, 'Through the grace of the Apostolic Chair.' As Pius VI. refused to consecrate such prelates, the king threatened to have this done by his own bishops, and thus compelled the pontiff to submit to his will.

To the same line of policy belong, in a certain degree, the measures adopted by Tanucci for the advancement of secular education. To this end the incomes of the confiscated properties of the Jesuits were in a great measure devoted. Every commune had to establish one or more public schools, in which reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic were taught. In every great city there was a college, where twelve professors lectured on secular and ecclesiastical subjects. In the towns of middle rank there were smaller colleges. All ecclesiastical supervision of, or interference with, these institutions was strictly prohibited. The university of Naples was housed in the former elegant palace of the Jesuits, and its chairs were filled with numerous able and well-paid professors. These institutions produced the happiest results. Intellectual culture, so long neglected, began to flourish in Southern Italy; and a succession of men of eminent talent distinguished themselves in the various branches of knowledge.

But these institutions, unfortunately, gave no promise of long durability, inasmuch as they were only the work of Tanucci and his individual co-operators. Neither the coarse, uncultured king, nor the people, took the least interest in them. The government continued in its old arbitrary, dishonest, and reckless course. The middle and lower classes remained the victims of feudal privileges and abuses. Trade and industry were paralyzed by irrational mediaeval restrictions, and, besides this, by state monopolies, whose number Ferdinand constantly augmented. The administration of justice was cruel and arbitrary. Membership in a lodge of Freemasons, and even taking part in a meeting not expressly sanctioned by the police, were held to be offences worthy of death. Good laws were promulgated in numbers large enough; but no one carried them out, the officials and barons troubling themselves least of all about them.

Reform received its hardest blow when, in the year 1777, the Queen Maria Carolina, daughter of Maria Theresa, a proud and arbitrary woman, effected the overthrow of Tanucci, who had resisted her passionate and tyrannical aspirations. He retired to his estate, where he died in poverty in 1783. The removal of this highly meritorious man from the government opened an era of reaction and financial disorder.

And matters went much the same in Parma. Here Duke Ferdinand was tired of his enlightened minister du Tillot, and replaced him by the Spaniard de Lano, who believed that he would find fame in undoing all that his predecessor had effected. The ecclesiastico-political innovations were annulled, the Inquisition restored, and peace made with Rome with considerable sacrifices of the authority of the sovereign. On the whole, it must be said that the princely reform movement of the second half of the eighteenth century had for Italy, with the exception of Tuscany, only the effect of aggrandizing the power of the monarch. Otherwise, the peninsula retained its bad laws and its oppressive feudal system. From 1748 to 1796 — that is, for half a century — the Apennine peninsula enjoyed unbroken peace under the new ruling houses that foreign force had imposed upon her. But this condition of rest, unexampled in her history, only served to demoralize completely the enslaved and dispirited people. A republic that had earlier held a world position — Genoa — still maintained 1500 mercenaries; the republic of Lucca, 200. No man would engage in work; every one wished to enjoy himself in his own way. The monstrous number of cloisters

encouraged idleness, partly through the example given by the monks, partly through the alms which they distributed, without distinction, to the feeble and the healthy, to the unfortunate and the lazy, alike. Beggary, imposition, and robbery appeared as quite natural, and by no means unseemly, conditions.

Literature could not but be affected by this complete degeneracy of the Italian people. In style it was extremely pompous; but the intellectual contents were narrow. The authors were separated from the people by an impassable chasm. Their productions no longer bore the stamp of nationality, which in earlier times had conferred its high value and abiding popularity on the whole of Italian literature. All the more readily, therefore, it fell under the influence of the brilliant and highly gifted neighboring nation, France. The Venetian advocate, Carlo Goldoni (1707–1793), made an end of the irregular popular farce by seeking to replace it by the comedy after the manner of Molière. To this extraordinarily productive writer we cannot deny rich power of fancy, perfect knowledge of scenic requirements, and a happy gift of observation of all the externals of life; but he lacks true poetic feeling. He met his well-deserved fate when, after fifteen years of triumph, he was suddenly beaten out of the field by a rival of thoroughly opposite character, and a partisan of the popular comedy, Count Gozzi, and compelled to seek refuge in Paris. Gozzi (1722–1806) was a true poet, who knew how to give to his comedies of domestic life, and their characters, a true and sharply defined individuality which never transgresses the bounds of literary license. Gozzi knew how to wield the weapon of derision with as much power as pungency against the foibles of contemporary philosophy.

But Gozzi remained quite isolated. Thoroughly Frenchified was the tragic poet, Count Vittorio Alfieri of Asti (1749–1803). Filled with measureless vanity, he believed that he could excel the French poets, even in their own field. If the sentiments and ideas expressed in his tragedies are in themselves elevated and noble, he kills our feeling of pleasure in them through the overdone simplicity and consequent unnaturalness of the plot, the violence of expression, the unharmonious repulsiveness of his style, the fury of his passions, and the pedantic observance of the rigid external rules.

It remains for us to mention that Italy was able to maintain only in a moderate degree her ancient fame in the natural sciences. Still, the peninsula had the honor of numbering among her sons a

Galvani (1737-1798) and a Volta (1745-1827), the apostles of the doctrine of electricity. And amid the deep decadence that had fallen upon Italian art, the star of sculpture arose on the horizon in the person of Canova. He belongs, however, to another and more vigorous epoch of the national spirit in Italy, the approach of which had been perceived and announced through Alfieri and some other distinguished spirits. "The day will come," exclaimed that poet, "when the Italians will again arise heroes upon the battlefield!"

CHAPTER V.

PRUSSIA AND GERMANY DURING THE PERIOD OF PEACE.

RICH in fame and glory, but impoverished in means, and sorely reduced in numbers, the Prussian people had come forth from the eventful Seven Years' War. Frederick now set to work to cure the wounds which the great conflict had inflicted on his lands.

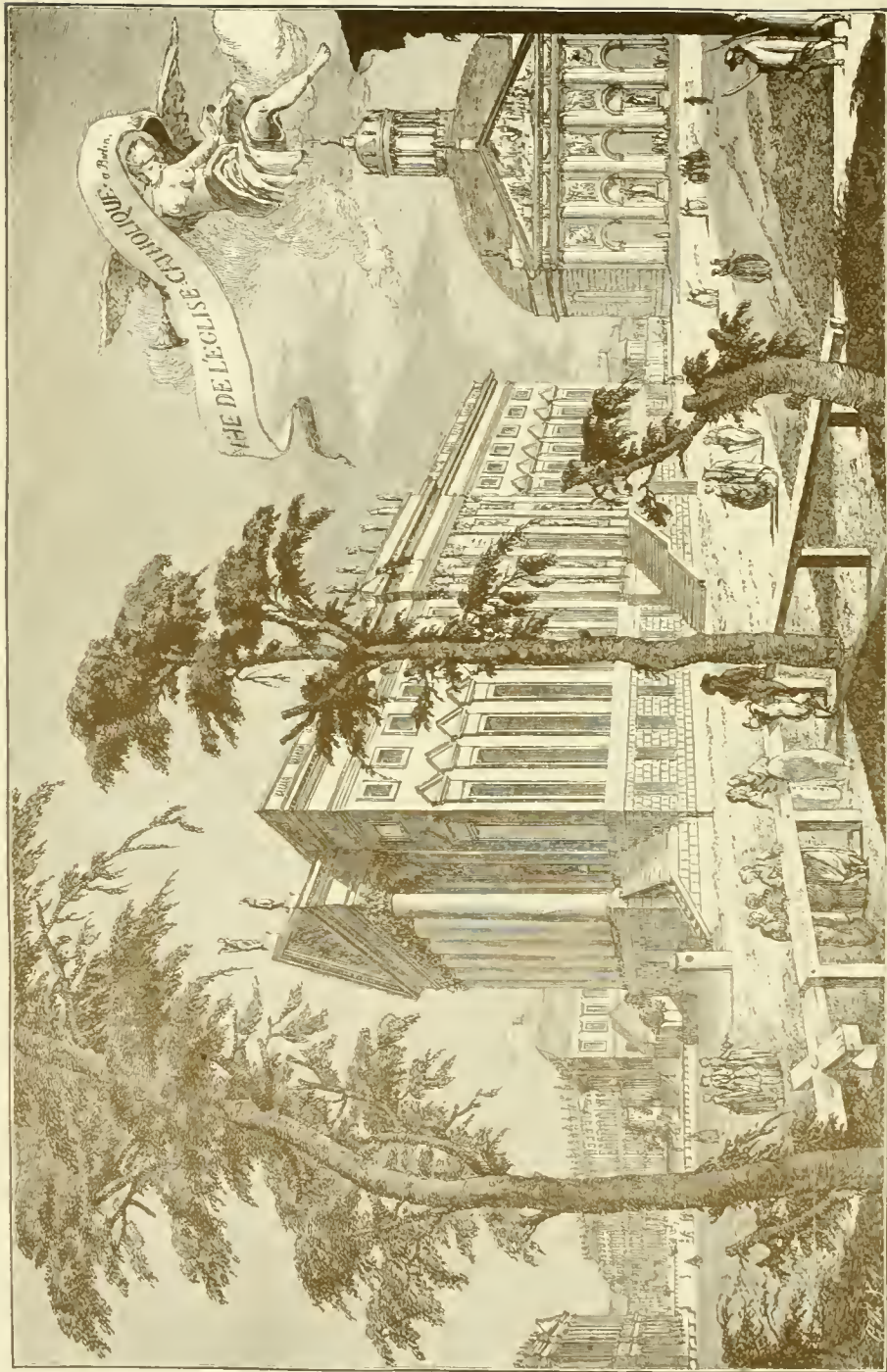
First of all, he had to reorganize the finances and the monetary system. Irrespective of the English subsidies and the Saxon and Mecklenburg contributions, the king—as he would have recourse neither to new taxes nor to loans—had met the costs of the war mainly through two means,—debasement of the coinage and the issuing of treasury bills. Not only were the Brandenburg and Saxon coins issued by him far under their nominal value, but he also concluded secret compacts with petty princes,—veritable fabricators of false money,—whose coinage he, in consideration of a proportionate advantage, forced into circulation in his own lands, thus creating disorders and losses of all sorts, enhancement of prices, and usury. All of this depreciated coinage was, on the close of the war,—in the years 1763–1764,—suddenly taken out of circulation, and accepted at the public treasuries only at its metal value. Much of it was worth only a fourth of its face value. This sudden yet necessary demonetization of the coinage, guaranteed by the image of the king and the arms of Prussia, was undoubtedly a sort of national bankruptcy, which brought ruin on numberless private persons, and inflicted losses and injuries on trade and commerce much more serious than would have resulted from a heavy but discreetly imposed and justly allotted war-tax. And such a tax would have been assuredly more profitable to the king than this traffic in money, whose profits he had to share with numerous unscrupulous speculators. The General Directory itself ascribed the decadence of trade and industry to the 'twice-repeated' reduction of the coinage.

The second means was not less unjust and calamitous for those

affected by it. All salaries and pensions had been withheld from the year 1757, and paid in treasury notes, redeemable after the close of the war. But, as a matter of course, the longer this end was in coming, and the more doubtful that Prussia's fate appeared to become, the lower these treasury-bills sank in value — ultimately to a fifth of their nominal value. One can imagine to what terrible suffering this gave rise in many official families. At length, in 1763, the bills were redeemed, but only in depreciated coin — a device thoroughly discreditable, and altogether unworthy of Frederick. He excused himself on the ground of necessity, but, as already said, the land could much better have borne a heavy income-tax than this cruel infringement of claims.

The energy that Frederick displayed in bringing help to the most sorely stricken districts is all the more admirable. Nearly the entire country had been more or less devastated by the enemy, who, besides this, had extorted contributions to the extent of 125,000,000 thalers. The fields lay waste, because cattle and seed-corn were alike wanting; while, by the loss of nearly half a million of inhabitants, the land was partly stripped of its laboring strength. Twenty-five thousand bushels of corn, 17,000 bushels of barley, and 35,000 horses were distributed gratuitously. Every regiment despatched hundreds of peasants to their homes, who again devoted themselves to productive labor, especially to agriculture. Of the funds the king had raised for a new campaign he allotted more than 7,000,000 to the separate provinces according to their needs. In many districts large remissions were made of taxation. Most zealously Frederick set himself to rebuilding the houses burned down by the Russians. Besides this he revised the financial accounts, with the view of restoring the old system down to the minutest item.

In three of his works, — “*Anti-Machiavelli*,” written in the beginning of his career; in the “*Memorabilia of the House of Brandenburg*,” in the middle; and in his “*Essay on Forms of Government*,” at the end (1777), — the king has given expression to the sentiment, that “The prince is the first servant and the first official of his state.” “He owes it,” he says, in the second work mentioned, “an account of the use he makes of the taxes which he raises in order to defend the state by the troops;” and he is bound “to support the dignity with which he is invested, to reward services and deeds of valor, to restore, in a certain measure, the equilibrium between the rich and the oppressed, and to aid the unfortunates of all classes in every



View in Berlin at the Time of Frederick the Great: Arsenal, Royal Palace and Castle,
Opera House, Catholic Church.

After a contemporary engraving from his own drawing by J. Legay.

way." And Frederick did more than merely express such noble sentiments in beautiful and striking words; he realized them in the most loyal manner all through his reign of nearly fifty years.

To him military functions appeared in no way the weightiest element in the princely calling. "It is obviously false," he says, "that the prince should be nothing but a soldier. By their origin the princes are, first of all, judges; and, if they are generals, that is only a supplementary function." Among the duties of the judge, Frederick included care for public order, for administration of justice, and for the public welfare generally. He emphasized neither his rights nor the enjoyment of kingly authority; in it he saw rather a heavy and responsible duty. He did not regard the state as belonging to him, as monarchy had claimed since the days of Louis XIV., but himself as belonging entirely and utterly to the state. To have first announced this doctrine, and carried it out in action, and so to have given the most brilliant example to the princes of contemporaneous and succeeding times, the world will ever regard as constituting one of Frederick's fairest titles to enduring fame. The day was strictly parcelled out; and every hour had its allotted duty, with which it was invariably occupied. One sees from the second of his "*Political Testaments*" (1768) how closely he had investigated the needs of each individual province of his state, their productions and conditions of existence. On this he based a minutely detailed and comprehensive plan for the advancement and expansion of industry. The meanest of his subjects were encouraged—indeed, ordered to address their solicitations to him. Every petition was disposed of on a journey just as promptly as in Potsdam or Berlin (PLATE X.; Fig. 33). This he regarded not as a grace on his part, but as a right due by him to his subjects. Five, or at most six, hours he allowed for sleep. In a single day he often issued more than a hundred ordinances concerning foreign policy, national improvement, military undertakings, and theological or educational matters. Only through this never-flagging, daily-renewed self-sacrifice was he enabled to maintain Prussia at a height of power and prestige to which her material strength bore no proportion.

In point of fact, Frederick was penetrated with the conviction that, for the weal of the state, it was essential that every initiative should emanate from the prince, who ought in person to control the whole administration. Not that he ascribed to the king either immediate divine guidance or supernatural endowments; this was

very far from being his conception. He regarded it, not as a right, but as an obligation incumbent on him to intervene personally in every matter of state, and speak the decisive word in regard to it. He saw in the Saxony of Count Brühl, in the Sweden of an oligarchy of nobles, in the Russia of Bestuzheff, in the France of Pompadour, the melancholy consequences of administration through ministers and favorites. For the sake of his subjects, therefore, Frederick was firmly persuaded that the monarch must be his own first minister, and that his officials, able as they might be in their special departments, should be merely instruments in the hands of a skilled



FIG. 33. — The Brandenburg Gate in Berlin about 1760. From an etching by Daniel Chodowiecki (1726–1801).

and wise master. He often treated the most eminent and most tried of his officials with unmerited harshness and contempt. And yet Frederick's princely eye enabled him, with but a single exception, to select only worthy and distinguished men as ministers. Contradiction enraged him to the utmost. The privy finance-counsellor Ursinus, who had induced the General Directory to accept a motion contrary to one of the king's plans, was instantly dismissed, and committed to the fortress of Spandau (1766). The whole history of his state led Frederick to adopt such arbitrary views. Brandenburg-Prussia had become what it was only through its rulers. Their moderation, firmness, sense of the practical, and their high conception of their princely calling, had elevated Prussia — mostly against

the will of the subjects — to a firmly consolidated, great, and illustrious commonwealth. Of this Frederick was thoroughly convinced, and to this conviction was added the feeling of his own worth and the still nobler sentiment of duty to his people. His own sovereign will had augmented Prussia by a half, and made her a European power. But in return he could bear no degree of independence in regard to his own well-considered resolutions. His system was indeed exclusively associated with his own personality, and in that there lay a great danger. Only a genius of the first order was in any way competent to fill the rôle of a sort of omniscient and omnipotent Providence. Such a kind of rule, under less gifted successors, must infallibly lead to neglect of the most important matters, to multiplicity of comparatively unintellectual administrators, to the collapse of the whole machine of government and of all public institutions.

The chief departments of the Prussian government — the Ministerial Cabinet for foreign affairs, the General Directory for home affairs, finances, and commerce, and the Ministry of Justice — were all organized on a collegiate principle. Every one of these bodies comprised several ministers, to each of whom a special department was allotted, but who arrived at all important decisions only after taking common counsel with each other and with the privy councillors of the entire collegiate body. The provincial authorities were organized in the same manner. But this organization, though maintained in regard to its forms, was overridden by Frederick in regard to its essence, inasmuch as he despatched the most important business, especially in regard to foreign policy, either without participation, and even without the knowledge of the ministers, or, according to his own pleasure, intrusted the carrying out of his royal mandates to individuals selected by himself. At no time did he attend the ministerial councils. All was ruled from his own cabinet. His adjutant-generals, who dealt with military matters, and the cabinet councillors, who had to do with civil affairs, were, according to his own expression, only his secretaries or clerks. For this reason he took his privy cabinet-councillors only from men of the middle class and mostly from inexperienced subaltern officials, so that they should be entirely without influence, and completely amenable to his control. But even under Frederick, this arrangement showed the most serious defects. As the ministers scarcely ever saw the king, and therefore were precluded from explaining their views to him, and

as, in consequence, the cabinet-councillors were the only persons with whom the king regularly took counsel on the most various affairs, these latter came to exercise an important influence upon the ruler's decisions. By reason of the king's unwearied power of work and keenness of perception, which took notice of the smallest as well as the most important matters, this evil could take no alarming proportions. But often even the best and most clear-sighted ruler must be led through personal moods, feelings, and prejudices to adopt unjust and inappropriate measures; and this was occasionally the case with Frederick himself.

The whole administration, even to the smallest detail, was most keenly supervised, the exchequer strictly reviewed, and every act of disobedience, of negligence, unfaithfulness, or caprice on the part of the officials, punished with Draconian severity. Seldom in his instructions did the king give expression to his satisfaction with them; reprimands and reproofs constituted their almost constant diet. Frederick knew how poor his state was, and how every fibre had to be strained to provide the needful means, and how neglect in a single point might lead to the collapse of the whole artificially constructed machinery of state.

Still more than his officials did Frederick regard his army as the secure and reliable support of the state. He saw in it the foundation of Prussia's rapidly attained greatness and power, and accordingly busied himself unceasingly with it, down to the minutest details of the service and discipline. Besides being its commander, he was also its indefatigable instructor and administrator, for a real war-minister he never had. His activity and industry in this respect were truly admirable. To the army, that is, to its officers, he granted important prerogatives. He held them to be not only more honorable, but also more clear-sighted, than his best civil officials, and in cases of conflict decided always in their favor. "In my state," he writes, in 1784, to Count Kayserling, "a lieutenant stands for more than a chamberlain."

But if the officer was granted the foremost place in the state and in society, he was, on the other hand, subject to no small drawbacks. The pay of a lieutenant was very trifling, ten thalers monthly. Debt was restricted in every possible way. Before his thirty-fifth or fortieth year, the lieutenant could scarcely hope for the comparatively better paid position of captain. The younger officers were not allowed to marry. The daily mechanical monotony of the drill,



King Frederick II.'s Parade in Potsdam. Painted and engraved by Daniel Chodowiecki.
The second body-general is drawn up in line. In attendance on the king are the Crown Prince, afterward King Frederick William II.,
Generals Ramin and Ziethen, and an aide-de-camp.

the surly harshness of the chiefs who were responsible to the king for the conduct of all their officers, the constant self-control to which they had to submit, all contributed to constitute no happy or elevating life. Then every year a review took place before the ruler, a time of severe probation and anxiety (PLATE XI.). Not the smallest fault escaped Frederick's keen eye. Reprimands, derision, threats, were rained upon them, often humiliations that compelled immediate resignation. When, in 1784, the Silesian army corps did not fully satisfy the king, he wrote to its Inspector-General, the gray-haired and highly meritorious Tauenzien: "My army in Silesia was never so bad as now. If I had made shoemakers and tailors into generals the regiments could not be worse." Tauenzien demanded and received his discharge. Lieutenant-generals were often put under arrest. Generals and commanders of battalions were ordered to the rear without ceremony. Even in the officers, Frederick did not see men, but instruments for the ends of the state; and these he used mercilessly, throwing them away when they appeared of no more use to him. Humane or benevolent this indeed was not; but if the little Prussia was to maintain her position, there could be no talk of humanity and philanthropy. Efficiency was the foundation on which he built up his army, combined with unconditional submission, and the example of its leaders from the highest to the lowest, each in his own sphere.

It would be unjust to conceal that Frederick rewarded officers of extraordinary merit to the best of his ability, and that, when in the mood, he knew how to display the most fascinating affection for his gray-haired war-comrades. Such cases were exceptional; but they show that the voice of his heart, which formerly was wont to speak so clearly, was not fully brought to silence in his old age. Yet, in most cases, there were no pensions for the able officers, however eminent in rank. If Frederick behaved with so little consideration for the officers — his noblemen — it is easy to understand he had no consideration whatever for the privates, who were looked upon simply as nullities. Although in many details Frederick had made the service less stern than it was under his father, and less burdensome for the people, on the whole, however, he had not essentially altered its conditions. In one respect, indeed, there was direct retrogression. Frederick augmented the number of native Prussians freed from military service, and abolished the principle of universal liability to duty. Of natives he would have only 'common people;' and in

the year 1742, he decreed that two-thirds of the soldiers should be foreigners, enlisted not rarely by means of deceit and violence, in whom, as in all his other soldiers, he saw only machines to be used at his despotic pleasure. Military service was even made a punishment for crime. Such an army was only to be kept together through the strictest supervision and intimidation, in accordance with the maxim often expressed by Frederick, that the welfare of the army was entirely dependent on the soldier fearing his own officers more than the perils he was exposed to in war. Discipline and punishment were barbarous. Caning was of daily occurrence. Arrest and confinement in fortresses, aggravated by penalties of all kinds, was by no means rare. Such iron discipline had, indeed, made his army into a machine not to be surpassed, but requiring a master-mind to set it in motion and keep it in order. When this failed it, at a later time, the whole institution went to pieces, and disbanded itself at the first time of real trial. Frederick II. fell into the error of so many energetic and gifted statesmen, of attributing too little worth to moral motives and the co-operation of many different individualities, and of expecting all from mere mechanical obedience.

The army was continually augmented in proportion to the greater extent of the country and the increase of the population. It ultimately counted, in round numbers, 200,000 men, of whom about a half were either permanently or transiently on furlough. Thus Prussia had, on the basis of a census of five and a half millions, a standing army amounting to two per cent of the gross population. When we consider that now in Germany the army in peace is little more than one per cent of the people, we can easily appreciate the heaviness of the burden which such a terrible equipment imposed upon the impoverished Prussia of the eighteenth century. Only the circumspection, economy, and unwearied watchfulness of a Frederick made it possible for him, notwithstanding the pecuniary burdens imposed on his people, to carry on great wars independently. He reckoned it essential that he should be able at all times to place an army in the field within five or six weeks.

This army system had, as we see, deep and broad shadows; but all defects were, in a great measure, compensated by the genius and unwearied power of work of the sovereign. And then the whole institution was adapted to a period when the same drawbacks, but not the same advantages, prevailed in all armies. Had Frederick lived to see the revolution brought about at the close of the eight-

eenth century, he would, doubtless, have accommodated the military relations of Prussia to the demands of the new period.

If the king filled the highest administrative posts almost exclusively with nobles, these, in return, enjoyed, in virtue of their military dignities, an altogether exceptional consideration. He believed he could trust only to the feeling of honor native to the aristocracy. To the artillery alone, which was regarded as of meaner rank, and the servant of the other departments of the service, were the common people admitted as officers. Frederick, when discussing army matters, used to speak with great contempt of the 'proletariat.' The monarch who, in poetry and prose, celebrated humanity and the equality of all, cherished in practice the most narrow-minded prejudice. Even in the improvement of the land, the nobles were constantly preferred, and were free from all direct taxes. Frederick's special aim was to maintain this privileged class as the nursery for officers. Many millions of thalers were made over to its members, partly as gifts, to enable them to pay their debts, partly as loans at one per cent. The utmost respect for the nobility was inculcated upon all officials; for "such, with their sons, must constitute the defenders of the land." With the view of maintaining the integrity of the class, the sale of a noble's estate to a commoner was most strictly prohibited. No alliance was permissible between the nobles' and commoners' families. The marriage of a nobleman, especially of an officer, with a commoner, was not permitted; "for otherwise I should soon have nothing but bourgeoisie for officers." Frederick was wont to confer no prerogative gratuitously. He even prohibited the purchase of peasants' and commoners' estates by the nobility, as well as the pursuit of commerce. He further required that the nobles should not sit idly on their estates, but that they should serve the king and the state, in the army or administration, for meagre pay; the higher honor attached to their caste being supposed to compensate them for whatever sacrifices they made. A nobleman could not leave the country without royal permission, could not even study at foreign universities.

In the service Frederick recognized no prestige as attaching to rank. A prince in his eyes was nothing more than the lowest class of the nobility. 'Old Dessau,' an immediate prince of the empire, was most severely reprimanded for the smallest mistake. When the Count of Schulenburg recommended his son to speedy promotion, in virtue of his rank, the king wrote him (1783): "I must say

to you that I have already given orders that no count be received into my army; for as soon as they have served one or two years they return to their home, and their service is all vain show. If your son wishes to serve, his countship has nothing to do with the matter; and he will receive no advancement unless he learns his business thoroughly." What a contrast to the foolish preference shown to the high nobility in the Austria, France, England, and Sweden of that time!

As little did high rank avail where law and justice were in question. Here even the members of the royal house had to submit implicitly to the laws. Such principles gained for the Hohenzollerns a degree of popularity such as no other princely house could boast of.

Frederick made repeated attempts for the effective amelioration of the condition of the peasant class, who in almost all Prussia were in a state of subservience to the landed proprietors. Forced labor for his master claimed the peasant's best strength and time. The lord and his officials assumed an unlimited right of punishing him. In every act of civil life he was at the disposal of his superior, whom his children had to serve five years for miserable board, and from four to six thalers of wages annually. Frederick now intervened in numberless cases from his feeling of justice, in favor of the poor, oppressed, plundered, and abused class. Unjust stewards and proprietors were reprimanded and punished by the monarch. Royal officials who punished the peasants by flogging were, according to an edict of 1749, to be committed for six years to a fortress. The king would not permit the number of the peasant population to be lessened, lest there might be a diminution in the tax-payers and recruits; and for this reason a law, of August, 1749, prohibited the so-called *bauernlegen*, that is, the confiscation of the peasants' holdings and their cultivation by the landlord. While in neighboring countries the technical improvement of the great industries led to large numbers of such confiscations at this time, Frederick guarded against this in Prussia, though the landlord's prerogative of driving forth one peasant and replacing him by another was in no way infringed. Only in the royal domains was this forbidden, and that first in the year 1777. Frederick very often availed himself of opportunities for improving the condition of the peasantry. A cabinet order of 1784 introduced a revision of all the acts in regard to forced labor throughout the whole monarchy. The serfdom of the peasantry was altogether at variance

with the king's feeling of justice, a sentiment to which he frequently gives expression in his writings. In his essay on forms of government he says: "The fact that the peasant belongs to the land, and is the serf of his lord, is revolting to mankind." He publicly declared: "It is in conformity with my intention that the peasantry shall be free men and not slaves." Like his two immediate predecessors, he made repeated attempts to effect the abolition of serfdom, as in 1763, and again shortly before his death, in the summer of 1786. But ultimately this was abandoned out of regard to the assumed interests of the noble warrior-caste, and through their resolute opposition to it, as well as that of the bureaucracy allied with them. The king, who so well knew how to make his will effective in other matters, gave way, so that all ended in affording the peasantry a very small degree of relief. Only in the royal domains were the days of forced labor limited to three in the week, and the service partially commuted for money payments.

The evil was that Frederick in no way regarded husbandry as by far the most important source of national income, as without doubt it was in the Prussia of that day. Rather, as a zealous advocate of the mercantile system, he put agriculture at a disadvantage as compared with commercial industry. This may sound like a paradox when we regard the millions which he expended for the elevation of husbandry, and the unwearied care which he devoted to it. And yet so it was. All the implements of the peasant and the necessities of life were greatly increased in price by the high protective duties. All the wares of the hand-worker had to be brought from the frequently far distant town. On the other hand, through the prohibition of the export of grain, with the view of keeping bread at a low price, and the wages of the laborer proportionately low, his earnings, especially in good years, were most materially reduced, so that it was impossible for him, over and above his heavy payments to the state, his landlord, and the church, to maintain himself and his family in any degree of comfort. In like manner, with the view of fostering the cloth manufacture, and especially of detrimentally affecting the manufacturers of electoral Saxony in Lusatia, the exportation of sheep, sheepskins, or wool was forbidden on pain of death. The exportation of flax and hemp, of hops and rags, was prohibited in favor of the weak home industries: as if a flourishing agriculture and a strongly developed system of cattle-breeding had not offered a richer equivalent for foreign manufac-

turers than the meagre products of Prussian commercial industry; and as if these did not constitute the soundest and most durable foundations for a national system of manufacture. Thus, in the most of the provinces, husbandry was pursued in an antiquated fashion, and not intensively; and Prussian cattle were almost universally of a miserable type. Prosperity, freedom of action, and an enterprising spirit, had altogether deserted the peasant class, impoverished and circumscribed as it was on all sides.

Frederick, indeed, did all to assist husbandry that his economic system permitted. Great grants in aid were made to it, which the king, by his painstaking economy, was able to wring from his scanty budget. In his wondrous liberality for any object having the common good in view, lies the most appropriate explanation of, and apology for, the sordid harshness he often showed to individuals.

The banks of the Netze were made arable through ditches, and were capable of maintaining nearly 4000 new families, and the marshes of the Oder were drained. On no less grand a scale was the drainage of the Drömling morass, in the district of Magdeburg, which rendered 177,000 acres of land fit for cultivation, and that of the marshes of the Warthe, where nearly 123,000 acres were reclaimed. The lands thus made arable, as well as other waste places, were chiefly occupied by foreign colonists, of whom Frederick introduced no fewer than 300,000 into his land. In these and similar enterprises he found most efficient help in Franz Balthasar von Brenckenhoff (Fig. 34), the son of a cavalry officer of the Palatinate, who had been of such eminent service in the commissary department in the Seven Years' War, that the king made him a privy councillor in his administration. In the organization of the newly acquired West Prussia he later proved of the most efficient service.

Frederick was unwearied in his efforts to help and instruct his people. He began the beneficent work of dividing the land into districts or parishes, according to English and Swiss models, and carried out the plan despite a constant struggle with the indolence of the officials and the narrow-minded conservatism of the peasants. Through persevering and vigorous efforts, he compelled the latter to adopt the cultivation of lupines, so well adapted to sandy soil, and especially of potatoes, in which he recognized a most essential means of subsistence for the poor. He sought also, though in vain, to supplant the old three-field system by the much more advanced English rotation of crops. He caused the peasants to be taught, at great

cost to himself, the raising of hops and fruit, the stall-feeding of cattle, and the proper care of poultry.

Frederick, in the twenty-three years from the Peace of Hubertsburg to his death, spent no less than 40,000,000 thalers in the



FIG. 34. — Franz Balthasar Schönberg von Brenkenhoff. From a copper-plate engraving by C. G. Rasp ; original painting by C. F. R. Liseewsky (1725–1794).

improvement of the land, — an immense sum in proportion to the meagre income of Prussia. Besides all this, he took measures especially calculated to maintain the landed possessions of the nobles. This class, especially in Silesia, had sunk deeply into debt through

the war. Auctions became more and more frequent, and only insufficient prices could be gotten for the lands put up for sale. For this reason Frederick caused a scheme, devised by the Berlin merchant, Büring, to be remodelled by his minister of justice, von Carmer, into a bank for advancing loans on real estate. This scheme came into effect in 1769 in the form of the Silesian provincial bank of credit, which accepted deposits, to lend them out again on the estates of the nobles up to the half of their value. The maintenance of the landed property of the nobles, and a material rise in the value of their estates, were the consequence of this important measure. The proprietary of the other provinces to the east of the Weser soon followed the example of Silesia, and the provincial system of credit comprehended almost the whole state. Later, these noble loan associations became the centres of the feudal reaction against Carmer's legislation, and especially against the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg. The king also knew how, by the introduction of a series of admirable and well-considered measures, to come to the aid of the impoverished mercantile class, as by the establishment of the Prussian bank (1765), and the maritime trade (1772), which latter had the business of supplying the eastern provinces with salt, and, in return, securing for itself the export of the wax collected there.

Besides the millions which Frederick expended for the promotion of industry, he invited foreign manufacturers into the land, and founded, through funds supplied by the state, woollen and silk magazines, and manufactures of every sort. An excess of exports over imports was, indeed, reported annually, but the figures were altogether unreliable. The larger number of the enterprises founded by the state shortly collapsed, partly because the necessary knowledge or the natural preconditions were wanting, but mainly because people relied on support from the government, and the exclusion of competition, and so relapsed into indolence, maladroitness, and self-seeking, while able and enterprising people were intimidated from establishing business with their own means. Impediments restricted the interior trade. The velvets of Crefeld, for example, could easily be disposed of in foreign countries, but not in Prussia, to the right of the Weser. The state was divided into three districts of production, in hostile competition with each other. On behalf of the whole artificially fostered and yet sickly manufacturing industry, the international trade was entirely annihilated in consequence of the enormous import, export, and transit duties, prohibitions, and custom exactions.

It has been repeatedly maintained of late, as it was by Frederick himself, that the young industry of his land absolutely required this protection. And it cannot be denied that moderate duties might well have been of assistance to Prussian manufacturing industry, then in competition with that of better developed states. They would probably have fully sufficed to foster a vigorous industry; for although Prussia was deficient in capital, experience, and skill, as compared with England, France, or even Saxony, yet, on the other hand, raw materials, and, above all, wages were much lower there than in these lands, a fact all but equalizing their conditions. But Frederick's extreme protection policy only served to call forth artificial schemes not in harmony with the character of the land and the people, and therefore inevitably doomed to ultimate failure, irrespective of the fact that it was most prejudicial to husbandry and commerce. If, however, the Prussian state did advance in population and prosperity, this is to be attributed, first, to the most liberal appropriations of the king, then to the long peace after 1763, as well as to the natural advantages of many provinces, and finally to the fact that Frederick's system was a fixed and unchangeable one, to which men gradually accommodated themselves.

The clear income of the state in the year after the Seven Years' War amounted to some 12,000,000 thalers. This sum appeared to Frederick entirely too small; and he attributed this unsatisfactory condition, above all, to the want of skill in the Prussian authorities in devising schemes of raising money, and in administering and utilizing the indirect taxes. Therefore, despite of the opposition offered by the General Directory, he, in the year 1766, intrusted their administration to French officials, — the so-called *Regie*. In the main his views were thoroughly just and praiseworthy, his wish being to remove the taxes from the necessities of life indispensable for the poor classes, and transfer such to the articles consumed by the higher classes. The duties on grain were abolished; but the king not only burdened tobacco, coffee, and wine, but also fresh meat, beer, and brandy, with increasing imposts. Salt, an altogether indispensable article, was, like tobacco and coffee, declared a state monopoly, and the prices of these wares were increased four- and five-fold. And yet these oppressive and everywhere hated measures were all but unavailing for the state exchequer. They led only to the vast increase of smuggling, which, enormously increased by the high assessments of the *Regie*, resulted in consequences disastrous to the in-

come of the state and to public morals. More than two-thirds of the coffee required for consumption was smuggled. Respect for the law suffered everywhere, but especially to an almost indescribable extent amongst the dwellers on the borders. Regular battles took place between the smugglers and the revenue officers, and assassinations of the latter were all too frequent. Disregard of the law came to be considered as something morally permissible and profitable to the individual.

The net revenue of the Regie was proportionately small; and while the receipts of the Regie exceeded those of the old administration by only eight per cent, the expenses were ninety per cent greater. The total increase of revenue effected through the Regie, deducting the newly imposed taxes and the income from the lately annexed West Prussia, amounted in twenty-one years to only 16,000,000 thalers. Such a trivial gain was plainly too dearly bought, through the endless extortions and frands practised by the foreigners upon the people. An administration through Prussian officials and on traditional Prussian principles would certainly have given better results for these twenty-one years of peace, taking into consideration the increase of the population and the development of their prosperity. Frederick himself was not content with these foreigners and their efficiency, and more than once gave expression to his feelings. "I will have no more Frenchmen," he said, as early as 1776; and yet he permitted them to continue.

This Regie, with its developed system of spies and denunciations, with all its disastrous moral results and with its foreign-speaking officials, condemned by Frederick himself, robbed the king of the affections of his subjects. The bitter hatred against the French officials, which led in many places to tumults and disorder, was transferred, in part at least, to the king, who had called in and protected these foreigners.

All the more glorious and the more pure does the fame of the great monarch show itself in his rigorous and impartial administration of justice, at a time when in all other lands princes or parliaments arbitrarily encroached upon it. "In a case of law I cannot decide directly," he said to an eminent petitioner; "the judicial constitution of the land can in no way be altered, because the laws must rule. I cannot help you through interference in your case; this is plainly against my sentiments, according to which I leave all legal matters to the conscientious discretion of my courts of justice."

The courts were most strictly enjoined to impartiality without respect of persons. The king himself set the example in this respect by referring the complaints of relatives and princes against citizens, and even against Jews, to the competent tribunal. On one occasion he said, "The laws are above all people, be they called marshals or not. If this is not agreeable to them, they may leave the country." This impartiality he manifested no less in cases where his own interests were at stake. He submitted implicitly to the decisions of his tribunals. It is known that the supreme court used force towards the royal officials, who were able to appeal to the sovereign command of government, in order to compel them to obedience. "The laws must speak and the sovereign must be silent," said Frederick, in his "Political Testament," in the year 1752. Such high-principled abstinence from interfering with justice appears all the more admirable when we consider the absolutist inclination of his self-reliant, energetic nature.

Regarding himself as the proper and highest judge of his subjects, he held himself bound to watch over the impartial administration of justice. Especially after the Seven Years' War, his views of men became decidedly pessimistic; he mistrusted one and all, and therefore believed that even in his excellent judges he must often assume criminal personal interest, or at least a propensity to juristic quibbles and unnecessary proceedings. He complained in the year 1767 that the process for indemnifying certain persons burned out in Frankfort-on-the-Oder had not advanced a step for three years. "This is not a solitary case of procrastinated discharge of justice. Others have already come to my knowledge, and you will therefore do well if you especially insist on the prompter treatment of cases; and to this end examine the courts, and make an example of any members thereof who are guilty of such negligence." Among the best-known cases is that of the miller Arnold, who, condemned by process of law, and ultimately despoiled of his mill, brought a complaint to the king himself that he was altogether unable to pay his rent, inasmuch as the high functionary von Gersdorff had diverted the water from his mill by the formation of a carp-pond above it. Frederick deputed for the investigation of the case a soldier, Colonel Heueking. The latter, who probably saw that the king had already taken the miller's part, returned a report entirely in favor of the latter. But the supreme court, on appeal to it, steadfastly maintained that Arnold had suffered no loss through the high functionary's

carp-pond. Thereupon the king declared that the judges had pronounced an unjust verdict. The high chancellor, von Fürst, was forthwith dismissed in the deepest disgrace, three administrative counsellors, and two members of the supreme court were deposed, and all confined in the fortress of Spandau, and condemned to compensate the miller.

Although this decision was unjust, the motive which actuated it was noble and honorable. Frederick regarded himself as specially the king of the poor, and as such called on to assist the meanest of his subjects in maintaining his own. "In my eyes," he said, in 1777, to his minister of justice, "a poor peasant is of as much worth as the best-born count and the richest nobleman, and the law reaches the highest personages as well as the meanest." It is to be observed that such encroachments on the administration of justice were never made in the interest of the exchequer or in favor of the prerogatives of the crown, but solely to defend the weak and needy against suspected injustice. Little as these encroachments are to be approved of in themselves, they were, nevertheless, the consequences of a high and honorable conception of the duties of a sovereign. Frederick was unwearied in listening to complaints. It sometimes occurred that he despatched a messenger to bring to Potsdam peasants who did not have the courage to prefer their complaints. He was, indeed, only too much disposed to lend credit to people bringing foolish, or even malicious, charges. But Frederick was no senseless tyrant: and when the authorities were able to show that the right was on their side, he was not slow in expressing sentiments of satisfaction and praise.

The miller Arnold's case had the beneficent effect of being the occasion of a comprehensive and enduring judicial reform. Cocceji's law code had remained only a draft, and even its beneficial changes in the conduct of processes were more and more neglected. Cocceji's successors, Jariges and Fürst, yielded to the position of the judges and advocates of the period in favor of written pleadings, and allowed the oral pleadings to fall into disuse. The scheme of the Silesian minister of justice, Carmer, for a reform in administering the law, was vigorously contested by Fürst before the monarch, who, therefore, gave no decision. Yet it could not remain hidden from the clear eyes of the great king that the administration of justice was retrograding in the Prussian state. To this dissatisfied feeling and his mistrust of Fürst was due Frederick's frequent interference

in the years from 1774 to 1779 in the administration of justice, and the prompt dismissal of the high chancellor. But Frederick did not content himself with a single outburst of anger, but adopted the firm resolution to reform his judiciary. In December, 1779, he called Carmer to the important position of high chancellor, with the express view of setting a reform of justice afoot. In April, 1780, he ordered the new chancellor to compile a general law-code for all the Prussian states. Carmer was commissioned to convert the written treatment of cases into oral pleadings before the judges. In this sense the new regulations for conducting cases were compiled, and that so promptly as to be ready to be published in the spring of 1781.

The code itself made much slower progress, being drawn up with the greatest deliberation and care, and, therefore, only very gradually. It shows the exalted conceptions of the king, as well as of Carmer himself, that the latter received permission to submit the different parts of the code, as soon as they were draughted, to the opinion of the public, and the remarks of all who felt themselves competent to offer such. Eminent jurists and philosophers received direct invitations to criticise, and prizes were offered for the best papers on the separate parts of the code as they appeared. Frederick and his high chancellor renounced the monopoly of legislation legally appertaining to them, in order to induce the people themselves and the whole cultured world to co-operate in the work. The new code was not the arbitrary compilation of certain officials sitting around a green table; it was much more the pure expression of the German conception of the law of that period. The *Codex juris Fridericiani*, later called *Allgemeines Landrecht*, was a creation attempted before this by no state,—viz., the codification of the whole law of the land on the basis of old Roman tradition, national views, and reason.

Still more worthy of fame is the manner in which Frederick himself defines and limits the royal power, and causes, not only its rights, but also its duties and restrictions, to be set forth. It is there distinctly and clearly expressed that the supreme head of the state holds his position only for the weal of its inhabitants, and that he cannot further restrain the natural freedom and rights of the citizens than this accrues to the general interest.

This liberal conception of the royal power was in harmony with Frederick's procedure in regard to the press. To be able to appre-

ciate this impartially it must not be forgotten that at that time in all Europe, England not excepted, the periodical press, and even books, were subject to the most rigorous legal restrictions and penal provisions. Frederick, on the other hand, announced the absolute freedom of the press from censure. But unfortunately he did not remain true to his principle, and it fared badly enough with the Prussian gazettes. In order to prevent his own views from being prematurely divulged, or foreign courts from being insulted, he prescribed, in 1741, that nothing must appear in the public press without the sanction of the authorities. But in books, whether literary or scientific, the writers were free to say what they chose. From time to time, indeed, edicts of censure appeared, but for form's sake only, and they were so little enforced that almost no one handed in a work for examination. The zeal of a censor or of the general solicitor was repressed by the philosophical king. "Without freedom to write what one will," he remarked in 1771, "men's spirits remain in darkness."

The press enjoyed absolute freedom especially in the spheres of religion and philosophy. Berlin thus became the capital of the deistic 'enlightenment,' the headquarters of those rationalistic views whose foremost representatives were Garve, Nicolai, Biester, Gedike, Mendelssohn, with whom Lessing, though far their superior, was in some measure in touch. The Protestant church was threatened with complete dissolution through this 'enlightenment,' since all its theologians of authority did honor to the comfortable philosophy of this tendency. It must be confessed that the churchmen of this school, especially during the administration of the minister Zedlitz, ruled matters with a high hand, and appointed only men of their own latitudinarian views to clerical or educational offices, and even endeavored to enforce a new and more liberal hymn-book upon the Lutheran congregations. Frederick himself on one occasion intervened in the same spirit by deposing the Abbot Hähne of Kloster-Bergen, near Magdeburg, on account of his pietism.

Nevertheless, he allowed the ecclesiastical sects of every sort full freedom to worship as they pleased. Even Mohammedans he was inclined to attract to his land. Those Lutheran congregations which were unwilling to accept the new rationalistic hymn-book had full permission to adhere to the old. Not without sarcasm, Frederick declared that every man might sing as much stupid and nonsensical stuff as he pleased. In other cases, also, he defended freedom of

conscience for the orthodox as against the 'enlightened.' In numberless letters he gives expression to the view that the majority of men are the incurable victims of prejudices and superstitions, for which the statesman must therefore show some indulgence. The same views led him to regard the assaults of the younger French 'philosophers' on religion with the utmost disfavor. It is known that after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus he retained the order in his land. But the Jesuits soon had to renounce both their name and garb, and, under the name of 'Priests of the Royal School-Institute,' were restricted in their labors to the higher branches of education.

But it must be confessed that, notwithstanding the theoretic proclamation of compulsory education for Protestants and Catholics alike, in the "General Regulations for Common Schools," Frederick showed no very lively interest in the school system, except where, as in West Prussia, it was mixed up with politics. The positions of common teachers he rather regarded as simply provisions for his uneducated and invalid soldiers. It fared better with the higher education, for which he selected an excellent superintendent in the Silesian, Baron Karl Abraham von Zedlitz. For the gymnasia the king drew up an excellent scheme of education, in which he especially insisted on cultivating the reasoning powers of the pupils, instead of merely cramming their memories. But money for educational objects he almost invariably refused to advance.

The intellectual development of Prussia was, moreover, impeded through Frederick's dislike for the German language. Nevertheless, the reproach so frequently heard that the great king was a friend of the French and a traitor to German nationality is altogether unjustified. In innumerable passages of his writings he shows a strong Prussian feeling, as well as patriotism for all Germany. The French, owing to the position of their affairs, he was rather inclined to underestimate. But, as he himself acknowledges, he had in his youth acquired an imperfect comprehension of the German language, his reading in it being limited to the learned books of the seventeenth century. The countless provincialisms of the German people caused him to regard their language as a collection of dialects devoid alike of literary balance and precision. This prevented him from appreciating the brilliant rise of German literature which took place during his reign, promoted in no small degree by the grandeur of his own personality. At the period of a Wieland, a Lessing, a

Goethe and a Schiller, he yet sought for the main representatives of German literature in Garve, Gottsched, and Gellert. He speaks himself of this matter in his letter to Voltaire of September 8, 1775: "You maintain, with right, that now for the first time knowledge begins to dawn on our good Germans. They love belles-lettres, and seek to collect specimens of it; and these will be transplanted from the foreigners to us, but our soil is not yet sufficiently prepared that such should be indigenous to it." From this letter we gather that, although Frederick was in the main ignorant of German literature, he was by no means indifferent to it. But all his efforts to further the development of the German language and literature miscarried, and that necessarily, since they proceeded from false premises. His errors in this respect, as well as his patriotic zeal, are incontestably manifested in his essay "On German Literature, its Defects and the Means of Remedying them." In this he expressed the hope: "We shall yet have our classic authors; every one will read them for the sake of his own culture; our neighbors will learn German, and speak it at their courts with delight; and it may well happen that our speech, when it is fully developed through the favor conceded to our best authors, will become disseminated from one end of Europe to the other." But he did not dream that these authors had already appeared. He regarded the idylls of Gessner and Götz's pitiable elegy *Die Mädcheninsel* as still the masterpieces of German poetry. He surrounded himself exclusively with French authors and literati; his theatre was French; his academy was French. This, to all thinking Germans, wounded and discouraged the ever-increasing consciousness of their own worth. In reality, the indifference exhibited by Frederick towards German literature accrued rather to its benefit than its injury.

As an author the king was busy up to the last period of his life, but always in the French tongue. One cannot, indeed, maintain that the works of his advanced age — "The History of the Seven Years' War" and of the War of the Bavarian Succession, as well as of the negotiations which ended in the partition of Poland — are equal in value to the productions of his youth and early manhood. But in one point of view they exhibit the excellences of all Frederick's historical treatises; much as the compiler may present things from his own point of view, he never knowingly diverges from the truth to exculpate himself. In close connection with his historical writings stands his gift of political satire, whose lash he

had no scruple in making his enemies to feel. But it is marvellous how the king, constantly overwhelmed with work in every department of state as well as by his voluminous correspondence, found leisure and strength to pay attention to abstract problems, and make them the objects of his study. In all this one recognizes the inexhaustible richness of his mind and the matchless expansion of his sympathies. Education was one of the favorite subjects of his speculations, all the more because he had been imbued by the principles of the first school of French 'philosophers,' who directed their attacks only against religious prejudices and against wronging and abusing the lower classes. He was a decided antagonist of the later radical school, which not only directed its attacks against all religion and idealism in every form, but also declared war upon royalty and especially upon the traditional political system. Against the naturalism of this school was directed the "Critical Review of the System of Nature by Baron Holbach," while against the revolutionary propaganda was addressed his "Review of the Treatise on Prejudices" by the Parisian lawyer du Marais. Both writings show that Frederick, notwithstanding all his scepticism, was far from doing homage to either philosophical or political radicalism. In 1779 he took the field anew against the school of "Diderot, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and the so-called philosophers, who are a disgrace to literature," in his "Letters upon Love to the Fatherland." Here the king no longer contents himself with mere denials, but expounds in noble and beautiful language the duty of the citizen, and especially the ruler, to his country. These treatises, as well as his "Essay on the Forms of Government and the Duties of Princes," will always remain to bear honorable testimony to Frederick's elevated and noble sentiments, which, even in his old age, were not quite overshadowed by misanthropy, isolation, and his more and more strongly developed self-will. The views and sentiments expressed in these books correspond with the opinions uttered by him forty years before in his "Anti-Machiavelli." Notwithstanding the development of particular features, his powerful character remained consistent throughout his long and eventful life.

To all his manifold literary productions must be added the political "Testaments" compiled by Frederick from time to time, and his numerous military treatises, of which Preuss enumerates no fewer than thirty-two, and these are not all.

With iron energy this ruler strained the strength of his people

to maintain Prussia's position as a great power. He had the lively conviction that a little land that had succeeded in attaining such a degree of eminence was doomed to become the object of envy and hostility to its neighbors, and must, therefore, ever be ready to fight for its existence. In his "Observations upon the Political Condition of Europe," written in May, 1782, he expresses the apprehension, "that in thirty years there will be nothing more heard either of Prussia or the House of Brandenburg." We know how frightfully near to fulfilment this prediction came in the year 1812. The dire experiences of the Seven Years' War had, in a very peculiar way, imbued the king's mind with such reflections. In order to obviate the possibility of such catastrophes, every one must be ready to offer himself up for the good of the state. Of civic independence or municipal self-government no one dared to speak. On the contrary, Frederick made an end of the last relics of the independence and freedom of action of the city magistracies. He nominated the municipal officials, and interfered personally in all the details of civic administration; and the property of the cities was no less at the king's disposal than their officials. The surplus of their revenues, often attained by scandalous neglect of all municipal institutions, found its way into the royal coffers. But that was not the worst. Still more disastrous was the total extinction of all public spirit and of the last remains of true citizenship among the most intelligent and industrious part of the people. This was the worst, almost the fatal, blot in Frederick's system. "All for the people, nothing through the people," was the watchword of enlightened absolutism.

With avaricious parsimony and rigorous severity Frederick watched over the public funds, when the ends in view did not affect the well-being or power of the state. "I have no money, and I am hard of hearing," was his answer to petitions for support, for pensions, and even for the fulfilment of state obligations. To petitions for compensation for the injuries done through the Russians, the king asked, "whether they wished to be indemnified for the damage done by the Flood." Still worse was it that his most meritorious diplomats, in answer to their petitions for reimbursement of their ruinous outlays, received only the rebuff: "*Toujours de l'argent? je n'ai rien.*" This severity in regard to individuals, however, appears intelligible and excusable — and to a certain extent even necessary — when we reflect on the task that devolved on Frederick of maintaining his great work in its integrity with means all too meagre. The aim constantly be-

fore his mind was not the welfare of each individual, but the power, the strength, and the greatness of the people as a whole. And in how high a degree was Frederick justified in all his efforts! His administration of the finances gave the most brilliant results. In the last year of his life the net state revenues mounted up to nearly 20,000,000 thalers, almost three times the amount of the income of the first year of his reign. In this way he was able to expend not less than 12,500,000 thalers yearly on his army. And, notwithstanding this, the great king left behind him a treasure of 55,000,000 thalers, saved after the Seven Years' War. Such administration of finances was unique at a time when other states were, for the most part, on the brink of bankruptcy.

This was the case even in a country whose prince, although by no means loyal and grateful to him, was a disciple of Frederick, — namely, in Würtemberg. From the vicious financial administration of its duke, Charles Eugene, there resulted the constitutional conflicts that at that time agitated all Germany.

In the larger number of the German lands the material and moral degeneracy resulting from the Thirty Years' War had had as its consequence the annulment of the institutions of the different estates, and the complete evolution of the territorial sovereign's power. But in Würtemberg the power of the estates was too firmly established. All but overwhelmed by his necessities, Duke Ulrich, in the Agreement of Tübingen of 1534, had been forced to concede a series of valuable prerogatives to the landed proprietors, the most important of which was the administration of the taxes through their own officials, in virtue of which a great part of the real government of the country was in the hands of the estates. For the practical exercise of such authority Ulrich's son, Christopher, had granted, on the dissolution of the provincial diet in 1554, the institution of a permanent Committee of the Estates, which committee should rule, as an independent central authority, in conjunction with the duke. This thoroughly parliamentary constitution of the duchy received a predominatingly democratic character through the fact that the Swabian nobility had, almost without exception, become immediate subjects of the empire, and therefore being free from subjection to the duke, no longer constituted a part of the estates of the land. The estates comprised now only the deputies from sixty-seven cities, and fourteen 'prelates,' — that is, the abbots of the landed monasteries. But now the monasteries had been converted into Protestant founda-

tions, and the 'prelates' into Lutheran beneficed clergy, who, themselves sprung from the citizen class, were in closest connection with it. Thus it happened that in this little land of 3500 square miles in extent, and some 600,000 inhabitants, a peculiar state had arisen, ruled by its parliament of commoners, and was, in consequence of this constitution, in the most prosperous and contented condition.

The popular organization of Württemberg had victoriously resisted all the attempts which its dukes had made in the first half of the eighteenth century to destroy it with the view of restoring princely despotism, and of finally annihilating Lutheranism in favor of their own Catholic creed. After the sudden death of Charles Alexander in 1737 everything seemed won (see p. 167, Vol. XIV.). The regency sought the closest relations with Protestant Prussia; and, in 1741, the thirteen-year-old Duke Charles Eugene was sent to King Frederick II. to be trained by him. Three years later Charles undertook the government, equipped with the best instructions by his royal teacher.

Unfortunately these noble admonitions bore no fruit in the case of the hot-blooded, sensual, arrogant, and self-seeking young prince. In 1748, indeed, he married Frederick's niece, Frederica Sophia of Bayreuth. But this marriage turned out ill, and not only alienated Charles from the Prussian court, but led him, through his disgust for his wife, to indulge in boundless debaucheries. The discreet persons who had hitherto counselled him were dismissed, and replaced by an unscrupulous and prodigal courtier, Count Montmartin, who was made minister of state, and by a brutal soldier, Count Rieger. The ducal palaces became the scenes of public and private debaucheries and wildly extravagant orgies. To these there was added the no less costly game of playing at war. As the obedient servant of Austria and France, Charles precipitated himself into the Seven Years' War, alike against the interests of his country and the Protestant sympathies of its inhabitants.

To meet his extraordinary demands Charles soon had recourse to unconstitutional measures. The Württemberg constitution knew nothing of conscription, but only of voluntary enlistment: but Rieger introduced a thoroughly tyrannical and vile system of impressment, against which no industrious workman and no father of a family was secure. The Committee of Estates opposed such despotic procedure. But the duke responded to their humble representations in the coarsest manner, and finally disbanded the committee, and

sent their leader, the provincial councillor, Johann Jakob Moser, to close imprisonment in the Hohentwiel (1759). The taxes refused by the estates were now levied in defiance of them, monopolies introduced, and the provincial coffers broken open and pillaged by the duke in person. The scandalous ecclesiastical councillor, Wittleder, meanwhile plundered the religious institutions, and sold the spiritual offices to the highest bidders.

In all these outrages Charles Eugene calculated upon the protection of the imperial court, whose ally he was, and with which he stood in close connection through his religious creed. But, after the end of the war, the estates summoned up courage enough to address themselves simultaneously to the imperial Aulic Council and to the three Protestant powers — Prussia, Great Britain, and Denmark — with the petition for the protection of their constitutional rights, and the liberation of the illegally imprisoned Moser. Frederick of Prussia effected the immediate liberation of Moser, and obtained the summoning of a provincial diet in September, 1764. But Charles resumed his contemptuous and tyrannical proceedings without the least regard for the constitution or the diet. Again Frederick intervened, and this time with the direct threat of employing force. Frederick's threat, and the repeated injunctions of the imperial Aulic Council, the duke dared not longer disregard. In the spring of 1766 Montmartin received his dismissal, and Wittleder was driven forth from the land. Rieger had already been a prisoner for some time in Hohenasperg. Thus, to the great rejoicing of the Würtembergers, the tools of the tyrant were overthrown. After tedious negotiations, an agreement in regard to the succession was arrived at between the estates and the duke, which, confirmed by the emperor, implied a complete victory of the old constitution, its revival and confirmation in all its main points.

Nevertheless, the success of the estates by no means meant a good government. Their rule degenerated into a self-seeking and moribund system of nepotism and red-tape that paid not the least regard to the welfare of the people. Moser, who earnestly advocated a reform, and especially a more rigorous supervision of the provincial administration, was ejected by the estates from office. In accordance with this they gave free scope to the duke's tyrannical caprices when these did not trench on their own interests and the strict letter of the constitution. Charles Eugene was able, as before, to sell his unfortunate subjects to the English for service in their American

war, or for the no less deadly service in their garrisons in the fever-infected districts of the West Indies, and to the Dutch for service at the Cape of Good Hope. Whoever refused to go on the deadly expedition was shot down on the spot. We all know how the young Schiller had to save himself from Charles Eugene's despotic moods through flight, and how Schubart, the highly gifted musician and poet, was shut up in a frightful den in the fortress of Hohenasperg, from which he was not liberated till ten years later, on the application of the Prussian king. Neither in Würtemberg, nor anywhere else in Germany, did one voice venture to raise itself against such infamous violation of justice and law.

Charles enjoyed ultimately, owing to the invincible loyalty of his people, a certain kind of popularity. His stately person and brilliant mien, and the splendor of his palaces, made a deep impression on the multitude. To this was added the halo of romance with which his relation to his 'Franzel' surrounded him. Francisca, the beautiful and engaging daughter of the poor Baron of Bernardin, had in the first years of her marriage with the deformed and bad-tempered Baron of Leutrum become acquainted with the duke, who fell passionately in love with her. But she refused to surrender herself to his wishes until her marriage with Leutrum was dissolved. Created imperial Countess of Hohenheim, Francisca remained modest and unassuming as before, and appears to have imbued the duke with the mildest and most benevolent sentiments possible. To her influence was apparently due that remarkable rescript extracted from the haughty prince on his fiftieth birthday, in which he openly acknowledged his errors and wrong-doings to the whole land, and promised reformation for the rest of his life (1778). But the old coarseness and self-seeking always reasserted itself. After the death of his first wife, Charles made the Countess of Hohenheim his legitimate wife in 1785, but died shortly afterwards in 1793.

Charles of Würtemberg was not the only German prince who stained his name through ignominious traffic in soldiers, and who bargained away the blood of his subjects for the means of filling his coffers and gratifying his lusts. At that time, after the failure in all the German territories of the estates to co-operate with each other, princely absolutism attained its acme. The martial training of the princes made them only the more disposed to regard themselves as the unconditional lords of the life and property of their subjects. Scarcely had the war between England and her North American

colonies broken out when the petty princes of Germany vied with each other in offering their regiments for sale to King George. As a matter of course the more important German military states, like Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel, were of most consequence to the English government. The former of these two lands comprised, indeed, only 1400 square miles and 150,000 inhabitants; but Duke Charles I. (1735–1780) had always some 5000 soldiers under arms. As he scattered gold by the handful on pompous festivals, mistresses, the Italian opera, and the French ballet, the English offers appeared to him a providential dispensation. He sold his 4300 soldiers for a moderate price,—fifty thalers for every man, and a subsidy of 64,500 thalers in the gross. Besides, every slain soldier was paid for at the rate of fifty thalers a head, every wounded one at that of sixteen and two-thirds thalers. In Hesse-Cassel the traffic in men had been, for a century, organized in the most admirable manner; and the Hessians had been accustomed to fight on any side for the benefit of the princely coffers, finding great pleasure in their wild life of conflicts and excesses. Landgrave Frederick II. (1760–1785) divided his time very artistically between enjoyments of every sort and erecting magnificent buildings on the one hand, and developing a rational army system, moulded after the Prussian, on the other, which had to pay for all his indulgences. He concluded an agreement with England, yielding him very extraordinary advantages in return for his 12,000 men. Hanau, Waldeck, Ansbach-Bayreuth, Zerbst, followed such a noble example. In all 30,000 Germans, of whom 17,000 were Hessians, were shipped off to America. Nearly two-fifths of this number never returned, but fell in remote lands in support of British interests and power.

These facts, constituting probably the most disgraceful page of German history, were passed over in the Germany of that day with little notice. Schulart and Schiller devoted to them some burning words of just indignation. Frederick the Great demanded, in his sarcastic humor, for the passage of the unfortunate mercenaries through the Weser Pass, near Minden, toll for the cattle to be slaughtered, as it were; but, with these exceptions, all remained quiet.

Neither the emperor nor the courts of the empire found anything objectionable in such abuse of the princely power. Of the two highest tribunals—from whose decision the electoral and many other privileged provinces were exempt—the *Reichshofrat* (Imperial Audic

Council) was completely dependent on the emperor, but was so poorly paid by him that its members regularly took presents from the contending parties, according to the amount of which was determined the order in which the suits were to come. F. K. von Moser declared openly in his journal, the *Patriotisches Archiv*, that the larger part of the aulic councillors were notoriously destitute of the three most important qualifications of the judge,—knowledge of law, love of justice, and an honorable mind. Joseph II., indeed, intervened with sharp ordinances in which he reprimanded the judges in the rudest and most insulting manner; but, inasmuch as he did nothing to augment their insufficient pay, the evil remained as great as before. Still worse was the condition of the *Reichs-Kammergericht* (Imperial Court of Chancery). Here only the president, his substitute, and one assessor were nominated and paid by the emperor, the other assessors being appointed and paid by the estates of the empire. Hence the emperor was the natural enemy of the court of chancery, which he sought to make secondary to the Aulic Council, which was dependent on himself. The other estates of the empire also did not wish the Kammergericht to become powerful to the abridgment of their own influence, and so that their own sovereign power in regard to the administration of justice should be restricted by it; and for this reason resolved to do as little as possible for the Kammergericht. Thus the number of judges remained at seventeen, in place of the legitimate fifty, and their pay was limited to the most meagre sum possible. The enormous number of processes was altogether disproportionate to the small staff of judges, who were wont accordingly to dispose of those cases where the parties had given them liberal bribes. One can scarcely blame the judges for their procedure. In the year 1769 the empire owed them more than half a million thalers of overdue salaries; and, in keeping with this, the roll of cases undisposed of mounted up a year later to 61,233.

After many efforts, the emperor succeeded, in 1767, in prevailing on the diet to send out a commission of twenty-four members to Wetzlar. But, as political and personal party-spirit prevailed in this body, the inspection was conducted with endless disputations and prolixity, and the result of the work of the commission was little better than a nullity. Ultimately, after eight years, the whole matter became a subject of wrangling between the *Corpus Evangelicorum* and the Catholic ‘conference’ in the diet. So in 1770 the commis-

sion came to a standstill. In such circumstances the courts of the empire were in no condition to fulfil their *raison d'être*. It fared no better with the military constitution of the empire, which alone could have secured Germany's influence and integrity. More than ever it was found that the contingents of troops wrung from the diet by long, urgent pressure and negotiations existed only on paper. Every state sought to shift the burden from its own shoulders, and to contribute as few men as possible. The soldiers were enjoined to "fire very slowly so that their ammunition might not give out." Desertion was directly encouraged, the deserters being sure of a friendly reception and the best usage at home. The smaller states of the empire were anxious to save their money and the lives of their men in every way practicable. The greater ones were unwilling to weaken their sovereigns by the despatch of troops to the imperial army. For the feeding and equipment of its troops every state had to care for itself; so that, for example, the troops of the Swabian circle were supplied from ninety-six different centres. With all these the unfortunate imperial commander had to keep up special communications. In addition to this the armaments were very poor. In the battle of Rossbach, for example, of 100 muskets not more than twenty could be discharged. Such an army could only earn the contempt and ridicule of friend and foe alike.

The German constitution of the period presented a melancholy caricature of the federal state. It had become completely effete, and served only to prevent the organization of new and better institutions for the whole German people. Without doubt the constant antagonism between Austria and Prussia bore a great part of the blame for this melancholy state of affairs. But things had been no better in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Discord was rife then also; and the essential cause for it was the selfishness of the princely aristocracy, and the complete want of patriotism for the greater country.

The people, as such, had long accustomed themselves to regard the proceedings in Ratisbon, and especially the concerns of the empire, with perfect apathy and indifference. More deeply stirred at least were the educated people by the reform movement which was then taking place within the Catholic church of Germany.

We have already seen that the rationalistic spirit had penetrated even within the strong walls of the Romish hierarchy. One fruit of the rationalistic movement was a work in the Latin tongue, appear-

ing in 1763 — professedly at Bouillon, really at Frankfort — under the pseudonym of a jurist, Justinus Febronius, and bearing the title *De Statu Ecclesiae et Legitima Potestate Romani Pontificis* ("Concerning the State of the Church and the Legitimate Power of the Roman Bishop"). Although the compiler avowed himself a true Catholic and an advocate of papal authority, he yet defined the latter in a way that imported a complete revolution in the constitution of the Romish church. He advocated the restoration to the prelates and national churches of their ancient independence, and the recognition of the pope as only *primus inter pares* ('first among equals'), and called upon princes to take so important and salutary a work in hand. The bishops, too, he called on to work with all their energy, so that the rights of which they had been despoiled through the wiles and violence of the Romish court should be again restored to them. The dogma of papal infallibility Febronius rejects with prompt decision. Only the universal church, on which Christ had conferred authority, is incapable of error. For these ends ecumenical and national councils must be summoned, which, in conjunction with the Catholic princes, should restore the church to its legal position.

In reality Febronius's book contained nothing either very new or very suggestive. The doctrines which it propounded had been already inculcated innumerable times by Marsilius of Padua, William of Occam, John Gerson, and others. They constituted the principles contended for by the reform-party at the councils of Constance and Basel, and, finally, at that of Trent; but on no occasion had they been carried to victory. Febronius stated a falsehood when he contended that he took his stand on the council of Trent. In reality this council had been rendered all but a nullity by the triumph of papal omnipotence. The ideal condition which Febronius magnified had never existed, nor had the church assemblies ever played the part which he ascribed to them.

Nevertheless, the book created a great sensation by reason of the anti-hierarchical, Jansenistic, and rationalistic tendency of the period; and it was forthwith disseminated throughout the Catholic lands by numerous editions, and by translations into modern languages. It soon became known that the author was a high dignitary of the Catholic church: namely, Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim, the suffragan bishop of the elector Clement Wenceslaus of Treves. Pope Clement XIII. thought it his duty to denounce the book by means

of accusations and threats. But, well as he knew the true author, he did not venture to name him, or even expressly to condemn him; so Hontheim remained practically uncontroverted.

In the sphere of politics publications followed each other with wonderful rapidity. Johann Jakob Moser carried on in his numerous writings the theoretical fight against princely absolutism, which he had in actual fact waged against it in Würtemberg. With acrimony he controverted the principle that all right must give way to regard for the public good, and that the sovereign is the only judge of what constitutes the public good, and of what it demands.

Moser's son — Friedrich Karl (1723–1798) — walked in his father's footsteps with no less courage, ability, and constancy. Early instructed in political affairs through his high public offices, the young Moser published, in 1759, his renowned book, *Der Herr und der Diener* ("Master and Servant"), in which he expounded to princes and officials the principles of a true and wise administration. With justice he declaims against the custom — unfortunately too prevalent in Germany to-day — of seeing in the prince, above all, the soldier, and of training him accordingly, thus giving, in anticipation as it were, the prince a false position in regard to his officials, and these a false position in regard to the subjects, and subordinating all interests to military ones. For the first time Moser says boldly that the official is not a servant of the king, but of the state.

The two Mosers were by no means friends of the 'Enlightenment,' but were rather politicians, of a pietistic disposition as to religion, with a strong tendency to conservatism. The latter tendency was still more the case with a man all of whose eminent endowments as a political thinker and writer were in a great measure neutralized by his stubborn prepossession for the antiquated and irrevocably dead, namely, Justus Möser (1720–1794). A long residence in England had operated to fructify and develop his mind, as was the case with so many other writers on both sides of the Rhine. As a historiographer Möser maintained a right view of history, and gave an original impulse, inasmuch as, with a sympathetic feeling for everything affecting the people, he recognized the necessity of making the social organization of a state the central point in his presentation, especially for the Middle Ages. Unhistorical, on the other hand, is his blind prepossession for the customs and forms of the past and his antipathy to progress and evolution. These excellences and blemishes appear most prominently in his strictly political writ-

ings, the most renowned of which are his "Patriotic Fantasies" (1774). Unfortunately Möser places the chief good, not in the rational development of what has already taken form in history, but in a return to an ideal, and erroneously depicted, condition of the past. By so doing he promoted German patriotism, and stimulated especially patriotic national poetry, but also called forth all the aberrations of a reactionary romanticism in literature and in the 'historical school,' which was hostile to progress, both in the domain of the state and legislation. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Möser—a tenaciously conservative man—did, in an age of over-government and princely absolutism, plead boldly and with inspiring words for the independence of the provinces and communes, the general arming of the people, for trial by jury, and freedom of trade.

Möser had worked pre-eminently for the future. For the moment 'enlightenment' bore full sway. But the evil of unpatriotic subordination to foreigners, and to influences altogether at variance with the German nature, bore its corrective with it. Frederick's victories recalled the German nation to a conception of a native nationality, and inspired it with vigorous sentiments. The thirty years of peace following on the Seven Years' War gave to literature, stimulated by Frederick's victories, the possibility of undisturbed development, and to the public, time and leisure to interest itself, so that a lively interchange of sentiments and ideas between authors and the people arose.

In the last period of the Seven Years' War there set in a wholesome reaction against the over-admiration of a superficial and almost dissolute so-called 'philosophy.' This reaction was promoted by Mendelssohn, Garve, and Abbt, and continued till it culminated in Lessing and Kant. People may laugh at the narrowness of the views characterizing these first-named 'popular philosophers,' but the fact is that they, through their accentuation of deism and morality as the foundation-stones and necessary objects of all philosophy, rescued the German citizen class from the moral degeneracy with which it was threatened, and inculcated a mildness of disposition, a freedom from prejudices, and a noble philanthropy towards all men, such as had never existed in the past, and which, alas, has since their time been forgotten. Amongst the nobility the Gallicizing tendency remained the prevailing one; but the cultured middle class adhered to the German popular philosophy.

Truly German also was the love for nature and the fine sense for its charms as exhibited in the poetical pieces of an Uz, and especially of Ewald von Kleist and Salomon Gessner. Amid the barren and unintellectual monotony of a garrison life the sensitive heart of Kleist, a Prussian officer, became alive to the delights of an existence in close association with nature. With this feeling he wrote his "Spring" (*Der Frühling*), an animated, graceful, and pious picture of nature, which the poet intended to supplement by portraying the other seasons. But his work remained only a fragment, for Kleist died on the field of Kunersdorf (1759). Our sympathies are less moved by the artificial and sentimental children of nature of the Swiss, Gessner, which plainly took shape under the powerful influence of Rousseau.

A peculiarly German branch of the prevalent popular philosophy is that branch called aesthetics, which Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714–1762) founded as the logic of feeling. As the aim of aesthetics Baumgarten set up the perfect ideal of the sensuous perceptions — hitherto entirely neglected by philosophers; that is, beauty. For the first time imagination was conceded its rights side by side with the intellect and reason, and was estimated and represented according to its own proper laws. This was a scientific fact of the first rank, although Baumgarten's exposition was little in keeping with his admirable principle. Sulzer and Mendelssohn, however, labored further in the direction indicated by him.

But the greatest aesthetic achievement was accomplished by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), who, in first apprehending and exhibiting the true nature of Greek art, established the ideal of beauty for all time. Under the most miserable circumstances, the love for antiquity and its art, fostered through visits to the Dresden collection of antiquities, kept him from discouragement. At length by the dear price of conversion to Catholicism he purchased the possibility of betaking himself to Rome, and there looking at antiquity face to face. At the age of thirty-eight he left the narrow restrictions of his native land for the freer and more congenial life of the south. In Rome he so immersed himself in the antique that he became saturated with its forms and principles. After publishing many separate pieces he embodied his views as a whole in his "History of the Art of Antiquity" (1764).

It was the first history of art that rose above dry catalogue and general, vague eulogy. With wonderful discernment and nicest

appreciation, Winckelmann's genius penetrated into the inner nature of the plastic arts and their laws. If he suffers from a certain one-sidedness that eulogizes too exclusively beauty of form at the expense of the idea to be conveyed by a work of art, this is to be accounted for by the twofold fact that he was not able altogether to escape the influence of the aesthetic views of his contemporaries, and that he saw around him, not the originals of the golden age of Greece, but only late Roman copies or productions. The peaceful simplicity and grandeur, which he so rightly recognizes as the essence of antique art, constitute also the essential feature of his own manner of thought and writing. Seldom has a secular book exercised so powerful and enduring an influence as Winckelmann's "*History of Art*." Not only does a new art epoch take its date from his work, but the whole historical and aesthetic manner of observation of the Germans has been influenced by it. It first taught people to seek in the monuments of the past the inmost thoughts and feelings of those among whom they were produced.

For the less gifted artist, especially the painter, Winckelmann's teaching, conceived in a too one-sided spirit, is dangerous. An obvious example of this is seen in his most intimate friend and companion in Rome, the German painter Raphael Mengs (1728-1779). Mengs was an artist who originally combined with praiseworthy correctness and delicacy of touch in drawing, and a lively sense of form and powerful modelling, the gift of most striking characterization, as is to be seen in his youthful pastels and in the portrait of his daughter in the Barberini Gallery in Rome. But his exclusive admiration for antique form, as such, seduced him to spiritless and barren eclecticism, which in his historical and mythological pictures delighted in a succession of beautiful but stereotyped and all but meaningless figures. Still he is by far the greatest of the German painters of that time. Among others Angelika Kaufmann gave evidence of efforts to go beyond the ordinary commonplaces.

If German art remained restricted to narrow bounds, there was initiated, by the first appearance of Winckelmann, the grand and only classical period of German literature. At its head stands the powerful figure of Lessing.

Lessing's whole life was war: but war, not for petty personal interests, but for freedom of thought and against falsehood and hypocrisy: war for the dignity of knowledge as opposed to vacant obscurity and mean plagiarism; war for the free exercise of the

national character unaffected by the influence of foreigners. — war, in short, for the good, the right, and the beautiful, as opposed to every perversion and every prejudice. In all his employments and offices he always preserved his independence and unrestricted freedom of action. These eminent qualities, so rare amongst German authors, make Gotthold Ephraim Lessing dear to every German of true culture, and give him a place above all the other thinkers and poets of his race.

Lessing is further distinguished from the other poets of his native land, in that with all his clearness and keenness of judgment, he yet possesses a mind wide enough in its grasp, as well as practical enough, to keep him clear of all merely pedantic and narrow-minded formalism.

Lessing conclusively liberated German poetry from the French influence, once salutary, now long become an unnatural fetter. He effected this through his keen, justly appropriate criticism, which, like every truly productive critical agency, was creative by reason of an exact study of literature, ancient and modern, and the finest independent synthesis. He was further creative as being the founder of a national drama. This Lessing, who not unjustifiably renounces for himself the proud title of ‘poet,’ has yet given us in his “*Minna von Barnhelm*” the first and best German comedy, — a veritable “victory of Rossbach on the field of the drama.” He wrote also the first good German tragedy in his “*Emilia Galotti*.” He was wary enough, indeed, to lay the scene in a foreign land: but every one felt that his “*Emilia*” was a protest against the despotic and immoral practices of many German courts of the period, and represented the victory of moral principle over them. The whole poetic opposition of the ‘Period of Storm and Stress,’ and especially Schiller’s youthful dramas, owe their origin to the impulse given by Lessing (Fig. 35). Lessing’s great significance in the history of the German drama lies in this, that he solved the great problem of reconciling the artistically ideal and the nationally popular, which Klopstock himself had only inadequately solved in the other departments of poetry. From his day German poetry was freed forever from the restraint of French classicism, and assumed its own proper national character. With his dramas he was also the creator of the German stage. Lessing’s *Dramaturgie* and Lessing’s dramas are the text-books and manuals of every German actor.

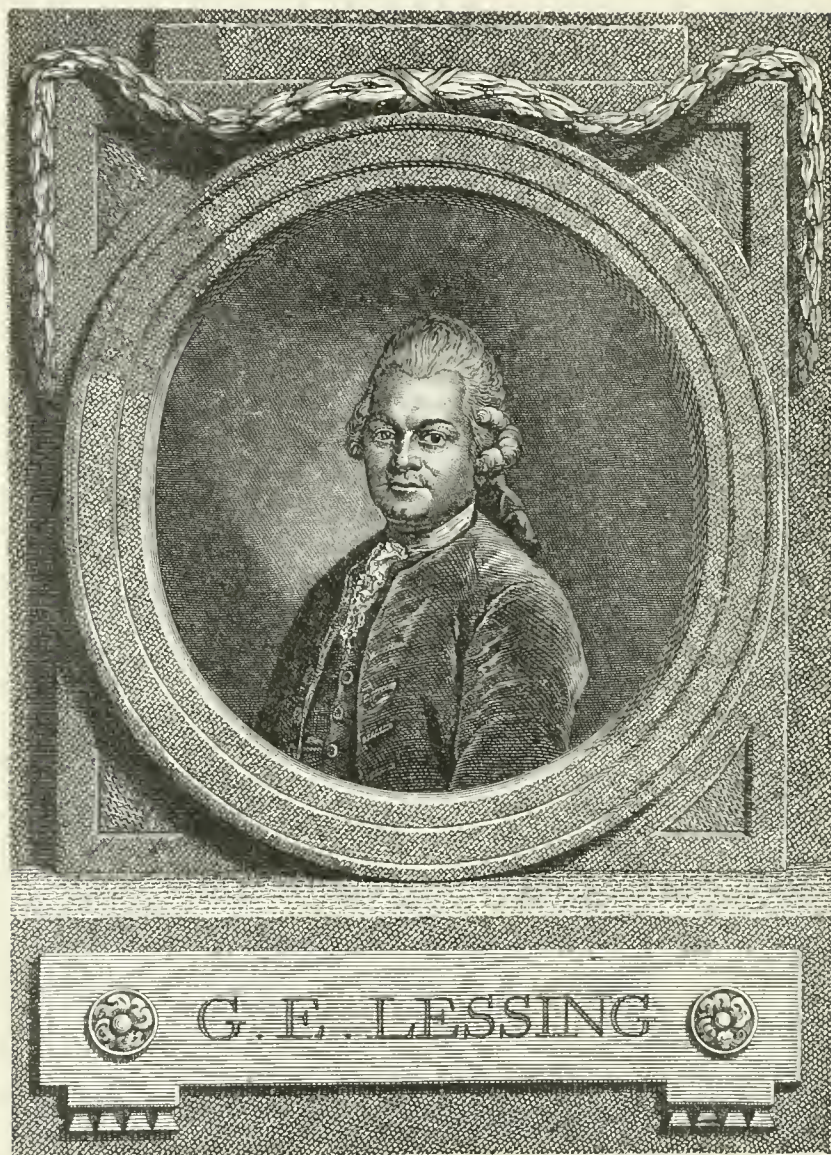


FIG. 35. — Lessing. From a copper-plate engraving, 1772, by J. F. Bause (1738–1814); original painting by Anton Graff (1736–1813).

Much weaker than in his “Minna” and “Emilia” is the artistic structure of Lessing’s last theatrical creation — *Nathan der Weise* (“Nathan the Wise”). It may even be doubted whether the subject

of this drama — the magnifying of freedom of spirit over all prejudices and arbitrary restrictions — lends itself readily to dramatic treatment. But the style of thought in it is so noble, the sentiment so pure, and the language so captivating and inspiring, that, notwithstanding all its weakness in treatment, it elevates the audience to the highest point of which humanity is capable. "Nathan" announces the good message of modern times, that not dogma, but only moral power, purity of soul, and its ability to train humanity in the exercise of virtue, constitute the essence and real worth of religion. "Nathan the Wise," high as it stands above the general tendency of the 'enlightenment,' is nevertheless its most glorious product; to this day it protests against narrow-minded orthodoxy, as well as against vindictive intolerance and the meanest and most selfish passions that corrode the spirit. No nation in the world has two such philosophical dramas to point to as "Nathan" and "Faust;" and if the latter is characterized by deeper power of thinking, "Nathan" operates on the soul of man much more powerfully.

By the side of the superb development of the spirit of Lessing in the domain of poetry stands his influence in the field of science. His labors here would have sufficed to secure for him imperishable renown, most especially of all in the sphere of philosophy and aesthetics. His *Laokoon* and allied writings constitute the necessary complement to the works of Winckelmann. Enthusiastically as Lessing recognized the latter's greatness, he, nevertheless, combated the grave aesthetic errors into which the great art-historian and all of his contemporaries had fallen through their preference for vain and empty allegory, and for the cold personification of abstract general conceptions, which, from the collapse of the Renaissance, introduced disorder into the plastic arts. Especially did Lessing, with his sure eye and firm hand, fix the characteristics and boundaries between the plastic arts and poetry. Thus *Laokoon* became, as it were, the incontestable scripture of artistic doctrine.

Finally, in the field of theology, Lessing's independent and piercing spirit made itself entirely free of the superficial rationalism of 'enlightenment.' Against every attempt at oppression, and against all intolerance, be it from the side of the 'watchers of Zion,' or from the side of the freethinkers, Lessing spoke out boldly with holy wrath and destructive force. He roused the popular heart of Germany from the very depth. As he himself was every inch a

man, so every one of his writings was a great, manly, redeeming deed.

Only at a modest distance does Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813) follow after Lessing. Wieland was a fellow-combatant with the great hero in that he took the field against the seraphic and bombastic conceptions of the followers of Klopstock, and sought to vindicate the rights of the truly human nature of man, especially of his senses. In the first able German romance, “*Agathon*,” he really succeeded in transferring his countrymen and contemporaries from the blue aether of an extravagantly exuberant epopee to the firm ground of reality. He maintained implacable war against the false sentimentality of the followers of Klopstock, their wailings in churchyards, their tears of sensibility, their friendship kisses, and their tedious amours. But it is a misfortune that Wieland confused the natural use of the senses with studied sensual enjoyments, and naïve simplicity with voluptuous and sensual gratifications. This audacious immorality, often transcending his French prototypes, has deprived the larger number of Wieland’s productions of abiding worth. Even his contemporaries accepted them with hesitation; and now his “*Oberon*,” clad in all the charms of a captivating and most fertile fancy, is almost his only work read. Still, Wieland has the merit that he showed the higher classes that German spirit and German speech also knew how to sport gracefully, and thus prepared them for the appearance of a still grander literature.

Even in the sixties of the eighteenth century, men reproached Wieland for his imitation of the French. In point of fact, Wieland declared patriotism to be a passion incompatible with the truly cosmopolitan principle. In this he did not stand alone; it was the fashion of the time for a man not to be the citizen of a state, but a citizen of the world. Lessing, who contended with zeal and success for the liberation of German literature from foreign influence, says plainly, “I have no conception of the love of country, and it appears to me at best a heroic weakness that I gladly dispense with.” Similar passages might be quoted in any quantity from the writings of Schiller and Goethe. Herder finds in the conception of ‘the Nation’ simply “a great ill-tended garden full of useful plants and weeds, a rendezvous for follies and errors as well as for excellences and virtues.” In the capital of Frederick the Great, Nicolai said plainly, “German national spirit is a political nonentity.” But such sentiments are not to be regarded as amazing at a

time when the rulers held the people far aloof from any participation in the administration of public affairs; when they conferred on the burgher class, as an act of favor, exemption from military service; when it constituted the ideal of even Frederick the Great to carry on war exclusively through foreigners, so that the natives of his state could pursue their callings peacefully, and thus be in a position to pay their taxes promptly.

From this pleasant dream of humanity and cosmopolitanism, from the tranquil enjoyment of the most beautiful productions of mankind, ancient and modern, the Germans were to be fearfully awakened by the cannon-thunder and exactions of the French 'Liberators.' Meanwhile, however, their great thinkers and writers had taught them to be proud of the name 'Germans.'

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND AND THE WAR OF THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION.

WHEN Catharine II. (PLATE XII.), by a *coup d'état*, set the crown upon her head, it was everywhere believed, and most of all in St. Petersburg itself, that her rule would be of short duration. A new revolution, it was expected, in favor of her son or of the incarcerated Ivan, would soon depose her from the throne. But she disappointed all these pessimistic expectations, and established herself every year more firmly in her seat. This foreign woman, this German student of the French literature of the 'enlightenment,' knew how with inimitable dexterity to accommodate herself to the Russian nature, and gradually to make herself the recognized personification of the interests of the whole land. With as much skill as energy, she preserved the equilibrium between the foremost families and the different parties of the state. Her lover, Grigori Orloff, forced her, against her will, to a marriage with himself. His family was everywhere hated for its gross violence and arrogance; and she therefore set up against it another prominent accomplice in the *coup d'état*, the Count Nikita Panin, an able and accomplished man. The insolence of the guards, who, since the fall of Peter III., believed themselves to be lords of the empire, she knew how to subdue by well-timed severity. She crushed out the last spark of clerical independence by confiscating the extensive ecclesiastical properties, and by taking on herself in return the payment of the priests, and the maintenance of the religious houses and bishoprics. The arbitrary power of the senate, too frequently misused for the protection of unscrupulous officials, was essentially restricted through the election of two new consultative central boards in immediate communication with the empress; namely, the council of state and the privy cabinet. Through this the form of government became completely absolute; but from acts of despotic caprice towards individuals Catharine was careful to restrain herself. She knew how to keep the favor of the 'patriots' by reserving all the

PLATE XII.



ЕКАТЕРИНА ВТОРАЯ



CATHERINE THE SECOND.

Catharine II. of Russia.

From an engraving by James Walker (1748-1808) ; original painting by J. B. Lampi (1751-1830).
History of All Nations, Vol. XV., page 198.

official positions of especial dignity for Russians, associating with each, however, a German mentor, who did the real work, while the natives, to the greatest satisfaction of the nationalist nobles and people generally, carried off the credit and the remuneration. She was also able to attract numerous German colonies for the settlement of tenantless districts, especially in the south. But she was foiled by the selfishness and vanity of the higher classes in carrying out a better system of education, and in her attempt to abolish serfdom.

It was not hypocrisy which prompted Catharine to maintain a close correspondence with Madame Geoffrin, with Diderot, Grimm, and other leaders of the French 'enlightenment.' She transferred such of their principles to Russia as seemed appropriate for that half-barbarous land, and not calculated to weaken her own authority. She was, in short, an 'enlightened' absolutist. Everywhere she endeavored to promote the welfare of the people, conformity to law, and even personal freedom. Every subject was free to approach her; with indefatigable diligence she investigated every complaint and claim. In the first years of her rule she personally compiled a minutely detailed "Instruction for the Draught of a New Code of Laws." In this she declares that "all this may displease those flatterers who daily repeat to the rulers of the world that their people were created only for their pleasure; but, as far as we are concerned, we count it a glory to say that we are where we are only for the good of our people." Everywhere in the "Instruction" she speaks of freedom, justice, natural right, and natural order. The code demanded the abolition of torture; the institution of funds to provide for peasants in their old age; the introduction of popular judicial forms, and the adoption of measures looking to the abolition of serfdom. To consult in regard to this "Instruction," and to prepare a code in harmony with it, the empress, in 1767, summoned a sort of parliament consisting of 564 representatives of the different estates of the empire, and bearing the name of a 'Legislative Commission.' But these members showed themselves so discordant and so incapable, that the czarina, weary of them, dismissed them to their homes, without tangible result, at the end of 1768.

If Catharine's strong will subordinated itself, in questions of administration, to the rules of law and the welfare of the citizens, in the domain of foreign policy she could act with the most unlimited and autocratic power. Her views were at first directed to the subjection of the two formerly powerful neighbor states of Poland and

Sweden. In both countries she hoped to avail herself for this end of the selfishness and avarice of the dominant nobility.

In the subjugation of Poland, Russia threatened Austria as well as Prussia; in the subjection of Sweden, she threatened Prussia and especially its Baltic provinces. Catharine sought to anticipate the opposition to be expected from both powers by allying herself beforehand with one of them. With this view she addressed herself to the more enterprising, the bolder, and the more unhesitating Prussian sovereign. Panin (Fig. 36) was a partisan of the Prussian alliance; therefore the czarina with great readiness turned to the king. A close relation with Russia was not acceptable to Frederick, who saw with anxiety the expansion of the Russian power; but, constrained by necessity, he had to accept the Russian alliance, and even to court it.

The hostility of Austria to Prussia had in reality become in no degree mitigated after the Peace of Hubertsburg, for immediately on the conclusion of it Maria Theresa had begun the most bitter quarrels. Again and again Frederick endeavored to establish good relations with Austria. But every hope of *rapprochement* between the two German powers was wrecked on Maria Theresa's passionate lust for revenge. Frederick was compelled to contemplate, with painful certainty, the necessity of a fourth war with her. With Austria, France, notwithstanding all its sombre experiences, stood in closest connection. By this power, too, Frederick saw himself threatened. Whither could he turn for help against so dangerous a coalition? On England he could not rely at all. This the history of the last quarter of a century had demonstrated in the clearest manner; and the situation had been aggravated by Frederick, who immediately after the conclusion of peace, fell into a violent dispute with his ally regarding overdue subsidy payments, in the course of which he confiscated the English property within his borders. There was, in fact, nothing left him but to try Russia. The king could not possibly let it come again to pass that the Russian corps should occupy East Prussia and Pomerania, while Austrians appeared on the Oder, and the French on the Rhine and Weser. Even at the sacrifice of important interests, he must seek Russia's support against France and Austria. And sympathy for the republic of Poland could in no way prevent him. It had been for some time very annoying to the Prussian monarch that Polish West Prussia cut off his province of East Prussia from the main part of the state,



FIG. 36. — Nikita Ivanovitch, Count of Panin. From a copper-plate engraving, 1792, by Antoine Radigues ; original painting by Röslin.

so that in the event of a war with Russia, East Prussia would be irretrievably lost. Furthermore, the Poles had never made the least attempt to fulfil the duties of a neutral state. In fact, the Polish magnates had seized the opportunity of pressing into and plundering

the Prussian provinces during the Seven Years' War. Frederick had, therefore, little sympathy for the Poles.

The internal conditions of the republic were favorable to Catharine's plans. For half a century anarchy alone had made progress in Poland. Never has a great state of 14,000,000 souls presented a more melancholy spectacle than Poland did then. The legal equality of all nobles was now changed into a cringing submissiveness of the hundred thousand poverty-stricken petty dependents to some hundred rich and powerful patrons. Surrounded by these numerous bands of clients, ready for any act of violence, the Potockis, Czartoryskis, Radzivils, Lubomirskis, Braniekis, and the Sapiehas

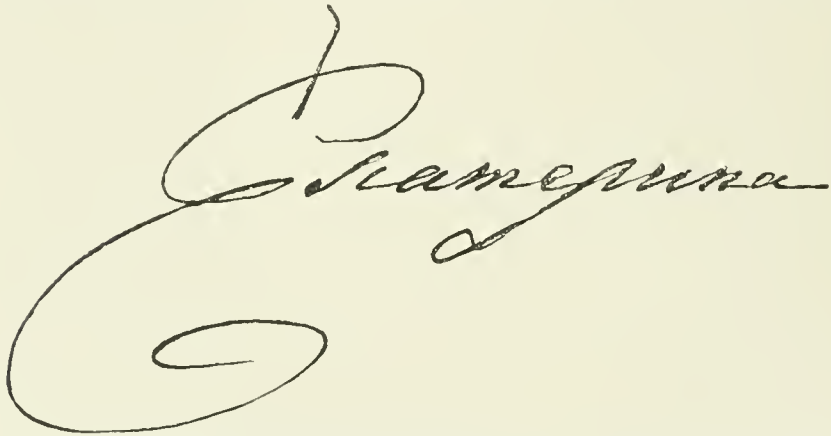


FIG. 37. — Faesimile of the signature of Catharine II., from a letter to the Councillor Wolkoff, dated St. Petersburg, September 22, 1793. Slightly reduced. (In the possession of M. Paul Dashkoff, in St. Petersburg.)

lorded it at pleasure over all the land, perpetrating with impunity the grossest outrages, and often engaged in feuds with each other. Over and above the outlays for their noble dependents, the magnates squandered their vast incomes in the coarsest debauchery, while they would not spend a groat to promote the weal of the state or mitigate the misery of their peasants, who were pining in wretchedness and want. All classes were uneducated, filthy, and of barbarous manners. The sway of the nobles had, to the great misfortune of the land, practically annihilated the burgher class. Only in the German cities of Dantzic and Thorn did this preserve any signs of existence, and it did not take any part in the business of the state even there. Besides these two cities, only Warsaw, Cracow, and Lemberg were walled; the other so-called cities — in reality villages — consisted,

with the exception of isolated stone mansions of the nobles and the monasteries, entirely of wooden buildings, in which lived a poverty-stricken population of petty tradesmen and day-laborers. The little business that could not be dispensed with was in the hands of the Germans, and especially of the Jews, who were little better than outlaws, and therefore alienated from the people and the state. The clergy were all-powerful, especially the Jesuits, but did nothing to inculcate morality or culture upon the nobles and people. The bishops took a lively interest in political party fights: while each vaunted his patriotism and devotion to 'freedom and the faith,' all competed eagerly for French, Prussian, and especially for Russian subsidies. All were at one only in the policy of depressing to utter powerlessness the sole authority that could have brought deliverance or improvement in any way, namely, monarchy. Even the diets, those assemblies of the representatives of the nobles, possessed no influence. From 1749 they had not been able to come to a single resolution.

In reality it was Russia that ruled in Poland, the Saxon kings only acting as governors. Augustus II. was brought back to the throne solely through Russian bayonets, and Augustus III. had to thank the same agency for his election. Count Broglie, as ambassador of Louis XV., for some time made desperate efforts to rehabilitate the old French influence against the Russian party in Poland. But the alliance into which France, in 1756, entered with Russia, as the helpmate of Austria, rendered all his labors of no avail: France's Polish partisans are in the habit of seeing themselves deserted, and offered up as victims. The recall of Broglie, in 1758, meant France's withdrawal from an active policy in Poland, and the relinquishment of the latter country to Russia. In vain did the French *chargé d'affaires* in Warsaw warn his government of Russia's ambitious plans.

This agony of a great, and once powerful and gifted, people is a pitiful spectacle; and the sadness is in no respect mitigated by the consideration that the deadly sickness was brought on, and aggravated in its course, by the nation itself. Poland's worst enemies were Poles. Russia found the firmest supporters of her influence in the republic in the members of the powerful family of Czartoryski. All the efforts at reform by King Augustus III. and the court-party they resisted with zeal and success. They proceeded to open treason by declaring that "our country would sing the praise of

the czarina if she would associate its existence with the real interests of her own empire, in so firm a manner than any change in Poland would be impossible without Russia's consent." Emboldened by this and similar utterances, Catharine gave free rein to her tyranny in Poland. Against the express will of Augustus III. and the Polish senate, she compelled the Courlanders — vassals of Poland — to depose their duke, a son of the king, and again to acknowledge Biron, the Russian grandee, as their prince. Deeply mortified by this humiliation, which he had no means of averting, Augustus III. died in October, 1763. And yet so great was the charm of the kingly title, that the eldest son and successor of the deceased, the Elector Frederick Christian, and, after his death, his uncle, Prince Xaver, were eager candidates for the Polish crown of thorns. But Russia and Prussia were equally firmly resolved that no Saxon should again mount the Polish throne. The Russian minister, Count Panin, spoke directly to the Prussian envoy, Solms, in December, 1763, of a partition of Poland, in case the Poles showed any resistance. Frederick at the time recoiled from this scheme with alarm, for in such a plan he saw the outbreak of new disorders in scarcely pacified Europe. In order to be prepared for this eventuality, however, and to be secure of Russian support, he concluded, in April, 1764, a treaty of alliance with the czarina, both powers pledging themselves to liberal and reciprocal help for a war of defence, and likewise to assist a Polish nobleman to the throne, in case of necessity, by force of arms. They likewise undertook to defend the nonconformists in the republic against all attempts at oppression by the Catholics, and finally to maintain the existing constitution of Poland, — that is to say, the state of anarchy agreeable to both powers. In regard to Sweden, Prussia had to undertake a similar obligation. The compact was especially favorable to Russia, as Prussia guaranteed her sway over Poland and Sweden. Only reluctantly did Frederick agree to these conditions dictated by Russia. Denmark also joined the alliance, at least as far as regarded such conditions as aimed at making provision for disorders in Sweden.

Russia was now free to do as she thought best in Poland; and that all the more, because Austria could undertake nothing against the northern powers without the assent of France, and Louis XV. was unconditionally disposed to peace. Catharine had long had her candidate in readiness, — a relative of the Czartoryskis, Count Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski. The count was then thirty-two



Vera Delineatio

Comitiorum Polonicorum in campo prope pagum Wola ad Electionem Regis.

^a Campus electionis	^e Nuntiorum terrestrium sub dio	^f Palatinatus
^b Casa Senatorum Polonice Szopa	^d Fossa circumducta	^g Warszawa
^c Conterius publicus Senatorum	^e Turma Nobilium secundum	^h Wola, pagus.

Polish National Assembly at V



Wahre Abbildung
 einer Polnischen Reichs-versammlung auf dem Felde bey dem Dorffe Wola zur Königs-Wahl
 Das Wahl-feld
 des Schoppe, in welchen sich die
 Senatorer versamen
 öffentliche Versammlung der Sena-
 torum und Landböthen unter
 freyem Himmel
 & der herumgeführte Graben
 die Hauffen des Adels nach den
 Wapen-schäfen
 f die Stadt Warschau
 g das Dorf Wola.

., for the Election of the King.

ate engraving of the eighteenth century.

PLATE XIV.



Stanislaus Augustus, King of Poland.

Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving (1798) by I. S. Klauber (1754-1820); original printing (1797) by Louise Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842).

History of All Nations, Vol. XV., page 205.

years old, an elegant, finely accomplished man, who had studied in Paris. An amiable and adroit man of the world, he had, at the age of twenty-five, presided over the embassy in St. Petersburg, and, while holding this office, enjoyed the intimate favor of the czarina. Catharine's keen knowledge of character was not obscured by her love affair; but she recognized that the count, under a brilliant exterior, concealed great weakness of intellect and character. Such a man promised to be, as king of Poland, a pliant tool of Russia. In vain did the patriotic party of the Polish nobility conclude, under the leadership of the crown commander-in-chief, Branicki, an alliance with the partisans of Saxony, and set up Prince Xaver as a candidate for the throne. They were only languidly supported by Austria and France, while Catharine dampened their patriotic ardor through the judicious distribution of 3,000,000 rubles in the form of bribes. She further caused 30,000 soldiers to advance into Poland and 10,000 to occupy Warsaw itself, and induced Prussia to place an army on the frontiers. Poniatowski had long before come to a friendly understanding with Frederick. As a matter of course, the Czartoryskis also collected troops, and worked with all zeal for the elevation of their relative. The patriot bands were defeated, in June, near Slonim; and Poniatowski was, on September 7, 1764, elected king at Warsaw under the name of Stanislaus Augustus. Of the 80,000 nobles qualified to vote, only 4,000 appeared at the polls (PLATE XIII.), which were surrounded by Russian bayonets. This was the third king that Russia had forced upon her unhappy neighbor kingdom. Of the independence of Poland there could be no longer any question: in fact, if not in name, she was a province of Russia.

Stanislaus Augustus (PLATE XIV.) was, so far as his vanity, his weakness, and love of pleasure permitted, a well-meaning, patriotic man. He accepted his position as king quite in earnest, and honestly desired to reform his country. In such a laudable effort he was supported, not only by the Czartoryskis, but also by Count Panin, who had been raised to the dignity of a Russian high-chancellor. Russia was at length secure of Poland's alliance and submission, and was now anxious to see the republic as strong as possible. But here Stanislaus met with decided resistance on the part of Frederick II., who had been induced to favor the nomination of Poniatowski only because he considered him weaker and more powerless than any foreign prince who could aspire to the Polish throne. Prussia's interest was to do her utmost to insure that Poland remained weak

and helpless. This consideration determined Frederick's policy. He had, after the election, addressed a very friendly letter to the new king, and had repeatedly admonished his Russian ally to treat the Poles gently and not drive them to despair. But of Stanislaus's reform plans he would hear nothing. He opposed them, and was able, ultimately, to bring the czarina to the view that Poland should be kept in a state of internal disorder. Austria also worked in the same spirit. But a short time before Catharine had supported the confederation planned by the Czartoryskis, in favor of carrying through invigorating reforms: now she forbade all such attempts. The position of Stanislaus Augustus consequently became a very unhappy one. The Russian envoy in Warsaw, Prince Repnin, a coarse, brutal man, was resolute in carrying out Russia's will unconditionally, and through threats and bribes always gained his end. Russian troops remained in increasing numbers in the territory of the republic. The king was able to do nothing but send petitions to St. Petersburg, which were scornfully rejected, or give vent to idle threats, which were treated with contempt. At length he fell out entirely with Russia. At the diet of 1766 he attempted, against the will of the latter state, to effect the repeal of the *Liberum veto*, but had to discover that Repnin's influence was much more powerful than his, so that the deputies confirmed the pernicious prerogative anew. Through this treasonable attitude the Polish aristocratic republic invoked, as it were, its own doom, and gave itself up to well-deserved extinction.

Only in one particular had Russia been unable to force its own views upon the diet,—namely, in cases where the shameful intolerance of Poland was concerned. The equality of rights for dissenters,—Protestants as well as schismatic Greeks,—demanded by Russia and Prussia, in conformity with the treaty of 1764, was unanimously refused, partly at the counsel of Austria.

But Catharine was in no wise willing to rest satisfied with the rebuff she had suffered in Poland. It was her fixed purpose to avenge herself for it, and to bring the obstinate state to its knees. She caused 15,000 fresh troops to advance into Poland, and called on the dissenters to constitute confederations. Thereupon the Prussian Protestants met to form a union, in March, 1767, at Thorn, while the Greek Catholic Lithuanians did the same at Sluzk. Catharine took both confederations under her patronage, and joined with them the Saxon patriotic party. The separate federations coalesced, in June, 1767, at Radom, into one great General Confederation.

Frederick the Great was, even from the beginning, by no means in harmony with this violent procedure of the Russians. He saw clearly that the question here was not at all one of religious toleration, but simply one of the permanent establishment of Russian domination in Poland. He was heartily weary of playing squire in the politics of the northern power. Notwithstanding, he did not think of putting an end to the Russian alliance, which alone protected him. He renewed it in May, 1767, but with the important supplementary provision, that Russia for the future should indemnify him for any aid he lent her in money or troops.

Meanwhile the General Confederation had acquired an extraordinary expansion. The former Saxon party among the magnates crowded into it with zeal, in order to be done with the hated Czartoryskis, and to drive them and their partisans out of their offices and places of power. It is said that 80,000 nobles were present at the meeting in Radom. Intimidated by the renewed Russo-Prussian alliance, and abandoned by Louis XV., Austria, notwithstanding her earlier promises to the Catholic party, declared herself neutral.

Nowhere did Stanislaus Augustus see the possibility of aid. Driven by necessity, he again threw himself into the arms of Russia. A new diet was summoned, and the elections took place under the coercion of Russian weapons. And with no less violence was the diet itself treated. Warsaw was surrounded with Russian troops; and Russian cannons stood on the opposite bank of the Vistula, their muzzles pointed at the castle where its sittings were being held. The still recalcitrant bishops and senators Repnin caused to be arrested. The diet submitted implicitly by accepting, in February, 1768, the conditions that Russia prescribed for it. The nonconformists obtained full civil equality with the Catholics, only the king and queen being required to belong to the Catholic confession. These provisions were placed under the protection of Russia and the Protestant powers. Further, the right of the nobles to elect the king was again confirmed under the exclusive guaranty of Russia, as was also the prerogative of the *Liberum veto*, with the one exception of questions of internal administration. Not until Poland had delivered herself over, bound hands and feet, to the arbitrary will of Russia, did the troops of the latter country, after four years' occupation, leave the territory of the republic. Stanislaus Augustus was rewarded by the czarina for his ignominious submission by an augmentation of his pension.

It soon became clear that the counsels to moderation which Frederick II. was never weary of impressing on the St. Petersburg government were fully justified. At the moment when Catharine believed she had won everything, all was put in doubt. If the feeling of nationality appeared dead in Poland, religious fanaticism was still in full strength. In the southeast of the republic, in the voivodeship of Podolia, Krasinski and Pulaski incited a rising at Bar, in the name of the menaced Catholic faith. The whole clergy supported the movement, and thousands of men ready to fight streamed to Bar; and several magnates, hitherto belonging to the Russian party, joined this new confederation. The formation of the Confederation of Bar (1768) was probably the most eventful occurrence in the whole history of Poland, leading, as it did, to her fall. But for the moment matters assumed an aspect serious enough for the Russians. Their regiments had to return to Poland, devastating the land everywhere, and gaining several military advantages. They captured Bar, and even Cracow, the second city of the kingdom. Yet in all points of the widespread Polish territory revolts burst forth against the Greek heretics, and even the peasants took part in the struggle. The dissenters were hung wherever they were found, being considered allies of the Russians.

The worst was that the Polish question, as Frederick always dreaded and had warned the czarina, threatened to lead to a general European conflagration. Choiseul warmly took the part of the confederates, and sent them money and trained French officers. Still more dangerous was the intervention of Turkey.

Turkey had been from the beginning of the eighteenth century in the power of the Janizaries, who installed the weak sultans or murdered them at their discretion. Like Mustapha II., in 1703, his brother Achmet III. died of poison, in 1730, both in consequence of a revolt of these restless and rapacious pretorians. One of the latter, a former peddler, Patrona Khalil, ruled the empire for two months (October and November, 1730) with insolent tyranny. The sultan and minister alike obeyed his will with trembling. At length another Janizary of herculean frame was won over, — Khalil Pehlewan, the Wrestler, — who, with his officers, forced his way into Patrona's house, and cut him and his friends to pieces. Thereupon a widespread butchery of the Janizaries ensued, and continued till 16,000 had fallen. Such was the way in which Turkey was then governed.

And yet the Osmanlis had not forfeited their old military prowess. When in the year 1722 the dynasty of the Sofis perished in Persia in a frightful civil war, the Turks wrested all the western provinces of that kingdom from their Shiite neighbor land. Mahmud I. (1730-1754), successor to Achmet III., was an inspiring and energetic ruler, who mainly depended on the already too-powerful Janizaries. He gave them a formal account of his measures, and of the officials whom he meant to nominate. In return they were enthusiastically devoted to him; defeated the Austrians in 1737-1739, and fought bravely against the Russians. His valiant minister, Raghîb Pasha, was sent to Egypt to bring the mutinous Mameluke beys to reason, and completely subdued them. Mahmud strengthened himself through an alliance with France; that country sent him officers to discipline his troops, and supported him in every way in the domain of diplomacy. He was a friend of the arts and sciences, and enriched Constantinople with four libraries and a mosque, as well as with eight imperial villas, some of which were finished with unexampled magnificence.

After the death of Mahmud I., Raghîb acted as grand vizier under his incompetent successor, and was able through his intelligent administration to reduce the empire to order and insure its stability. Besides this he found leisure to compose many poetical works, for which his countrymen have conferred on him the title of 'Prince of the Poets of Rumelia.' To the misfortune of the empire, Raghîb died in 1763, and the administration fell into the hands of Mustapha III. (1757-1773), a man not devoid of ambition, but sorely wanting in endowments and energy.

The Porte had long observed with uneasiness the growth of Russian influence in the neighboring republic of Poland, from which it dreaded a vast aggrandizement of the already formidable power of the Muscovites. Repeatedly had it called on Russia to withdraw her troops from Poland, but was constantly rebuffed by Catharine. The Russian troops were daring enough to pursue the confederates upon Ottoman territory, in doing which the Turkish provincial town of Balta was burned down and the whole population butchered. The enraged populace of Constantinople called for war in the most threatening manner, and the French ambassador joined in the demand. The sultan gave way, threw the Russian ambassador, Obreskoff, into prison, and on October 30, 1769, declared war on the czarina.

Had the Porte first made its preparation, and then commenced hostilities, it would, owing to the weak condition of the Russian army, whose most available troops were then in Poland, have been, at least in the beginning, at a great advantage, and could have occupied the defenceless Russian southeastern provinces at a blow. And this the more, because, on the news of the breach between Constantinople and St. Petersburg, the Confederation of Bar immediately made great progress. When the detested Repnin was



FIG. 38. - Alexei Orloff, on the Tchesme medal. (Original size.)

succeeded by the mild Wolkonski it was already too late to win the love of Poland. It was lucky for Russia that, even at this moment, the Polish grandees could not be brought to unite, while the proper head of the nation — the king — only sought to mediate with great timidity.

Besides, the Turkish war soon took a form favorable to the Russians. Catharine improved the time wasted by the Turks, and reinforced her army, and inspired her counsellors and people with steadfast confidence. She promptly made the war an offensive one by causing her troops to invade the Danubian provinces. The



Naval battle at Te

Reduced facsimile of a copper-plate engraving by P. C. Canot (1710-1777)

History of All Nations, Vol. XV., page 211.



me, July 3, 1770

W. Watts (1752-1851); original painting by Richard Paton (1719-1791).

formerly so energetic Turkish nation, on the other hand, seemed to desire to imitate its Sultan in lazy indulgence and pleasure. Even the picked corps of the Janizaries had become enervated under the reign of Mustapha III. The administration had fallen into a state of complete dissolution. Late in the summer of 1769 the important fortress of Chotin fell, after a defeat of the Turks, into the hands of the Russians, who thereupon seized all Moldavia and Wallachia, whose Christian populations hailed them with joy. In the lands of



FIG. 39.— Reverse side of the medal commemorating the victory at Tchesme with a plan of the fight. (Original size.)

the Caucasus, too, they made numerous conquests. For the year 1770 Catharine conceived the magnificent idea of exciting a general revolt against Turkish sway in the Morea, which had long been prepared for this by the Russians. The Morea did, indeed, rise in the beginning of the year, but was so poorly supported that the Turks resubdued the peninsula in a few months, and cruelly chastised it. The Russians annihilated, mainly through the services of the Englishman Elphinstone, then serving as a Russian admiral, in a battle (July 6, 1770) in the bay of Tchesme (Figs. 38, 39 and PLATE

XV.) the whole Turkish fleet, but failed to make any use of their victory. Much more important were their successes on the Danube, where Rumänzoff dispersed the far superior host of the Turks on the Kaghul (August 1). Almost all of the Turkish strongholds on the Danube were captured.

Frederick II., like the other European powers, was very unpleasantly affected by the outbreak of the Polish disorders, and of the Turco-Russian war. The proposal of the czarina that Prussian troops should enter Poland to re-enforce the Russian army there he repeatedly rejected in the most decided manner. On the other hand he had, in conformity with the treaty of 1767, to pay to Russia, during the continuance of the Turkish war, a yearly subsidy of 480,000 thalers. He thought of getting some compensation for this; and the plans which he, as crown prince, had conceived nearly forty years before again suggested themselves. In the political testament which he made out, in November, 1768, for his successor, he names, amongst the duties for future, the acquisition of Polish Prussia. And, in the same month, he demanded that the Russians should require from the republic compensation for the costs of the occupation and the war, of which he also claimed his share. But, above all, he wished for peace. Nothing was more hateful to him than the prospect, in case of further complications, of being drawn into a war against Poland and Austria. Prussia had not yet, by any means, recovered from the damages inflicted on her by the Seven Years' War. And, finally, the disproportionate power which Russia had attained through her conquests in Turkey was a cause of uneasiness to Frederick.

When in this mood he received an invitation from Choiseul to a friendly understanding between the courts of Paris and Berlin. The French minister's prevailing idea was to exact retribution from England for her conquests from France in the Seven Years' War. For this end it behooved him to neutralize the Continent, and to hinder Prussia and Russia from entering into an alliance with Great Britain. Russia he dreaded especially, and therefore sought to raise enemies against her everywhere. Finally he addressed himself directly to Frederick II. But the latter believed that he must decline the alluring advantages which the French minister held out to him as the price of an alliance, and which consisted of a considerable portion of Poland, inasmuch as there was nothing further from his thoughts than to complicate himself with Russia. The diplo-

PLATE XVI.



Joseph II. as King of the Romans.

From a copper-plate engraving by P. Lion; original by A. Tischler.

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matic union that, in 1768, after a suspension of twelve years, had been restored between France and Prussia, Frederick again put an end to. Better prospects were offered by the negotiations with Austria, who dreaded being despoiled of all influence on the Balkan Peninsula, and seeing the dominion of the lower Danube fall to the lot of the czarina's empire.

The situation of Austria was by no means enviable. She had come out of the Seven Years' War with a debt of 256,000,000 florins and a disposable yearly revenue of only 20,000,000. The imposition of new and oppressive taxes had become a matter of necessity. The lands inhabited by the Germans and Slavs had to bear the whole burden, for the Hungarian diet granted an augmentation of taxes amounting to only 700,000 florins. In the Magyar lands the imposts rested exclusively upon the poor. The conservative spirit that inspired Maria Theresa never let matters come to a radical reorganization and thorough reform. The new penal code of 1769, the *Nemesis Theresiana*, still retained torture. The other legal reforms remained unaccomplished, for the empress's legal tutors were as little able to free themselves from the traditional views of matters as their mistress was. The state which Maria Theresa had erected was like a modernized feudal castle,—a new story was added, new wings were built, but the whole rested on the old foundation. The land-owners still dominated the lower courts of justice, the police, and the school-system. Their property was more lightly taxed than that of the peasants. Besides, there prevailed the dualism of the empire,—Austria ruled by the Germans, and Hungary by the Magyars; the former with German as the language of the administration, the latter with Latin; the former with an administration, but without a constitution; the latter with a constitution, but without an administration.

In her external policy, too, Maria Theresa's tenacious conservatism had borne no good fruit. The one-sided favoritism of Catholic interests and the alliance with France, combined with her stubborn hatred of Prussia, had not only neutralized the influence of Austria in all weighty questions, but also threatened to leave it defenceless against Russian encroachments, especially in the Polish and Oriental questions. There was absolute necessity for a change. Fortunately for Austria, Maria Theresa had now to reckon with a new factor, the young Emperor Joseph II. (PLATE XVI.).

Joseph (born 1741), the eldest of sixteen children which the

empress presented to her husband, was brought up by his mother in comparative ignorance and in the practice of the most precise form of pietism. But his ignorance the young prince soon surmounted by his own labor, at least in so far as concerned the practical departments of administration; the pietism made the whole system of creeds hateful to him. The sad experiences of the Seven Years' War impressed the conviction upon his acute intellect that there was much amiss and rotten in the state, and that there was urgent need for a fundamental reform. As he possessed alone of all those about the court such ideas, he became self-willed, domineering, and intolerant of opinions contrary to his own. Enthusiasm for the greatness of his state and the welfare of its members had possession of his mind, and to such objects he meant to devote his whole life. But his too ardent temperament and a peculiar incapacity for ripe reflection, and want of political tact, caused him to undertake too many things at once, and, underestimating all difficulties, to press forward too impetuously to aims often chimerical.

In his marriage relations he was still more unfortunate than Frederick II. His first, dearly loved wife, Isabella of Parma, was snatched from him by death, after a union of three years. To his second wife, Josephine of Bavaria, — forced upon him by his parents, — he entertained a violent aversion; but she, too, was carried off by an early death (1767). Joseph's only child, the daughter of Isabella, died in her ninth year. These sad events may account for much of the austerity in the character of this, at heart, really good and noble monarch. Pleasure and recreation Joseph sought chiefly in music, the viola and violoncello being his favorite instruments.

He had not long been elected king of the Romans when the death of his father, Francis I. (1765), raised him to the imperial dignity. His mother placed him in the same false position in which she had placed his father, — that is, she made him co-regent in name, but permitted him in reality no independence. His ardent temperament, disposed to seasonable innovations, was too much at variance with the tenacious conservatism of his mother for her not to cherish mistrust of him. The most magnificent schemes floated through his mind; but he was not able to carry out one of them. At first he submitted implicitly to the maternal tyranny, but at length he was unable to accommodate himself to the rôle which had been played by his father. Often he demanded to be released from his position as co-regent; for, much as he and his mother loved each other, they

quarrelled almost constantly. At length he acquired a certain degree of influence on the internal administration, when questions of principle were not concerned. Here he sought to reform the



FIG. 40. — Count Moritz Lacy. From a copper-plate engraving, 1770, by J. E. Mansfeld (1738–1796); original painting by Kollomitch.

military and financial systems. In the former, with the help of Count Moritz Lacy (Fig. 40), who, though no pre-eminent commander, was an excellent organizer, he effected much good. Of yet

more importance were his financial triumphs. His immense private wealth he made over entirely to the state, and employed it to convert the rate of interest on the state debt from six and five to four per cent, thereby saving the treasury about four millions yearly (1767). Some years later (1775) Joseph was successful in restoring the equilibrium between the income and expenditure of the state. He encouraged commerce by abolishing the provincial custom-houses, materially reducing, also, the import and transit duties, for he inclined to the physiocratic principles. In the sphere of education, he reorganized the University of Vienna — on the basis of state supervision, indeed — and, above all, the common school system, which, at that time, was better ordered in Austria than in any other country in Europe. At first he exercised little influence upon the foreign policy, which he wished to make more vigorous and effective, even at the price of an understanding with Frederick II.

Meanwhile, as Kaunitz saw that through the Prusso-Russian alliance, as well as through the corresponding indifference of France, Austria was entirely left out of account in the important Polish question, he, too, began to look at matters from the standpoint of the emperor. He even sketched out a plan for an alliance between Prussia, Austria, and Turkey; Prussia was to restore Silesia to Austria, the indemnity for which was to be a slice of Poland. The same idea of a partition of Poland was conceived simultaneously by Frederick II., the Versailles cabinet, and the statesmen of Austria. To put himself on a better understanding with Frederick, Joseph II. arranged with Frederick for a meeting on the Silesian-Bohemian frontier.

The friendly attitude of Austria made Frederick's position more independent in regard to the czarina, who had hitherto treated him as a sort of vassal. He took advantage of this change to make an attempt for the attainment of the long-desired territorial connection between East Prussia and the main body of his monarchy. Accordingly, he sent to St. Petersburg a formal partition scheme in regard to Poland, which he, by way of precaution, ascribed to a Saxon diplomat, Count Lynar (February, 1769). He himself was to get West Prussia and Ermland; Austria, the district of Lemberg; and Russia, a share of the republic at her discretion. But Catharine and Panin would, on no terms, consent to such considerable portions being taken from Poland, and, accordingly, courteously rejected the plan.

All the more earnestly did Frederick wish to bring about an understanding with Austria. In August, 1769, the preconcerted meeting between him and the young emperor took place in Neisse, where the king showed himself friendly and accommodating to the last degree. But Joseph distrusted his own ability to deal with so experienced a politician as Frederick, and was not ready to enter independently into a compact with him: and therefore the result of the meeting was much less than the latter had hoped for. In vain did the king appeal to the sentiment of German patriotism, and point to the threatening despotism of Russia. All that was arrived at was that, in case of a war between France and England, Germany should enter into a compact of neutrality, as well as that Austria and Prussia should exchange pledges not to attack each other, if disorders elsewhere should involve the two powers in a war on opposite sides.

The resolutions arrived at made a considerable impression on the St. Petersburg cabinet in favor of Prussia. When the Russo-Prussian alliance was renewed, in October, 1769, Panin gave the hitherto obstinately refused guaranty for the near reversion of the Franco-nian principalities of Ansbach and Bayreuth to the Prussian line of the house of Hohenzollern.

Russia's new victories, in 1770, made Prussia as well as Austria more and more disposed to restrict the limit of her advances. The French alliance showed itself again utterly worthless for Austria. All the more was Austria led to approach Prussia. Here she found the most complaisant reception, as Frederick saw with the greatest anxiety the glances which the Russian court was casting on Poland, as well as its schemes of conquest in Turkey, which threatened to involve Europe in war. In September, 1770, Frederick had a new interview, in the Moravian town of Neustadt, with the emperor, who was this time accompanied by Kaunitz as his main agent. However, the only result accomplished was that the hostile tension which for thirty years had existed between the two courts was laid aside.

At the interview at Neustadt Frederick gained the conviction that Austria would not consent to a material expansion of Russia on the lower Danube. If a war broke out on this account, he himself was bound to come, in conformity with existing compacts, with an army to the help of Russia. But he would not endure such new sacrifices in favor of a power whose progress was in no way agreeable to him. He sent, therefore, without delay, his brother Henry to St. Petersburg to try to effect a peace. On the other hand, when Rus-

sia proposed a closer alliance with Prussia, in return for which the latter might look for a material augmentation of territory, the king rejected it. But the matter seemed to be far from settled; for the czarina demanded not only the Crimea, Moldavia, and Wallachia, but also the protectorate over all the adherents of the Greek church residing in the Moslem empire,—demands that neither the Porte nor Austria thought of acceding to. Frederick was indignant at Catharine's arrogance, and threatened her quite openly. He felt called on to co-operate with her in Polish affairs, but not in ambitious schemes against Turkey.

Then an event occurred calculated to alter the whole complexion of the situation in St. Petersburg and Berlin.

Ever since the days of Charles XII. and Augustus the Strong talk of the partition of Poland had been heard from the most various quarters. In 1763 the Saxon government was disposed to stir the question up again, if only Saxony could get its share of the plunder. In more recent times Austria and France had proposed the matter no less seriously than Russia or Prussia; and it was Austria that made the actual beginning which led to the gradual disintegration of the whole republic.

On the northern frontiers of Hungary there lay the thirteen cities of the Zips, which had formerly belonged to that kingdom, but which, pawned to Poland in 1412, and never redeemed, had been for centuries regarded as Polish territory. These Austria now occupied. But not satisfied with this, in 1770 she took possession of the districts of Neumarkt, Czerstyn, and Sandec, in which lay the important salt-mines of Bochnia and Wielicka,—districts to which Austria had not the shadow of a claim. The pretext was that all that was meant was only a temporary occupation of these lands 'for their protection;' but this pretext was disproved by the fact that the governor of these districts immediately assumed the title of 'Administrator of the Recovered Territory.'

The example led to imitation. Catharine invited Prussia to take possession of a part of Poland, the czarina believing that she would thus be left to deal as she liked with Turkey, and be permitted as well to take possession of Polish territory (January, 1771). We thus see that the direct impulse for the spoliation of Poland came from Austria, but the immediate invitation was issued by Russia. It would be unjust, therefore, to make Frederick principally responsible for this. Rather did the king hesitate at the Russian pro-

posals, not so much from over-scrupulousness as from the fear that to accept the invitation would bind him to take a part in the struggles with Turkey and Austria. But when Prince Henry, long an advocate of the Polish acquisitions, returned to Berlin, he was successful in changing his brother's views by convincing him of the honesty and the reliability of Catharine's offers. He reminded him that Prussia could find compensation for the help she had already given Russia only in a piece of Poland, and, on the other hand, that only through the spoliation of that country could Russia be diverted from her purposes in regard to Turkish territory, and peace secured. When Frederick became convinced of the soundness and practicability of the plan, he entered upon it with zeal (March, 1771), and urged in St. Petersburg its immediate execution. As a matter of course he was not satisfied with getting Ermland alone, but demanded the greater part of West Prussia.

In Vienna, also, he caused his purposes to be communicated: but here he met with decided resistance. Kaunitz and the Emperor Joseph urged the reluctant Maria Theresa to a breach with Russia, and to the military support of the threatened Turkey. Fifty thousand men were placed on a war-footing; and France promised her stipulated contribution of 24,000 men. Ultimately the able Austrian negotiator, Thugut, succeeded on July 6, 1771, in concluding an alliance with the Porte most advantageous for the empress-queen. She was promised the cession of Little Wallachia, certain commercial advantages, and 11,750,000 florins of subsidy.

For Russia the situation had thereby become very serious. If the Austrians advanced into Moldavia, the Russian army must immediately withdraw into Poland. But in this land the Confederation of Bar made greater and greater progress, and Lithuania also was in ferment. By these conditions the czarina was cast unconditionally upon the friendship of Prussia, and the rôles were thoroughly reversed. Panin, who at first would hear nothing of the acquisition of West Prussia by Frederick, now gave his assent to it. In return, he demanded the aid of Prussia against any Austrian attack.

But just at the decisive moment Prince Kaunitz's courage failed him to break definitively with Russia, especially as Maria Theresa felt no desire to begin a new struggle in her old age. Meanwhile the Russians had made new advances in the campaign of 1771. Prince Dolgoruki (Fig. 41) had captured the lines of Perekop, de-

signed to defend the Crimea, and thereupon conquered the whole peninsula; while the possession of Moldavia and Wallachia was maintained victoriously against all attacks of the Turks. In concert with the empress and Joseph II., Kaunitz himself offered, without regard to the convention concluded with the Turks, to prevail upon them to cede the Crimea. On the other hand, Frederick moved the Russian court to renounce Moldavia and Wallachia, and to compensate itself therefor by a large slice of Lithuania (end of 1771), Frederick promising, in case war should break out notwithstanding, to place 20,000 men in Poland and Hungary at the dis-



FIG. 41.— Vasili Michailovitch Dolgorukoff-Krimski. From a copper-plate engraving by E. Kudrjakoff.

posal of the Russians. On these conditions Prussia and Russia concluded, in February, 1772, a new alliance, comprehending the plan for the impending partition of Poland in favor of both powers. Russia was to get the Polish districts east of the Dwina, the Druss, and the Dnieper; Prussia, West Prussia with Ermland and Pomerellen — but without Dantzic and Thorn — as well as Great Poland north of the Netze.

Meanwhile Austria, too, had assumed a milder tone. In January, 1772, Kaunitz counselled accession to the Prusso-Russian partition schemes, in order by so doing to avoid war, and to preserve Turkey from material injury. Maria Theresa, indeed, experienced

some conscientious scruples on account of this unrighteous despoilment of Poland, but ultimately gave her consent that Austria, too, should act '*à la prussienne*,' as she expressed it. This resolution it was by no means easy for the gray-haired empress to adopt. But by the representation that she would thereby avoid a fearful war, she was prevailed on to accede to the partition of Poland; and when this had been effected, the Emperor Joseph made his influence so far effective that Austria now caused herself to be paid twofold for her virtuous indignation. In a declaration of February 19, which avowed Austria's assent, and her participation in the proceeds of the plunder, she had still modestly claimed an equal share for each of the three powers. Gradually, however, she laid claim to a territory almost as great as, and much more valuable than, the Russian and Prussian acquisitions taken together. She attained her end almost in its entirety; and this the more easily, because she caused 30,000 men to advance into Poland. On August 5, 1772, a definitive partition-treaty was concluded between the three powers (Fig. 42), which gave Austria the greater portion of the present Galicia. By it Russia received 50,000 square miles of territory with 1,800,000 inhabitants; Prussia, 15,000 square miles with 600,000 inhabitants; Austria, 32,000 square miles of very fertile land, with nearly 3,000,000 inhabitants. The empress could now afford to forget Silesia.

How Poland would conduct itself in regard to this unheard-of act of violence was the question which now occupied all Europe.

The French officers sent to Poland, among whom was the afterwards so renowned Dumouriez, had in vain labored to bring about a firmer organization in the forces of the confederates. The magnates and their dependants preferred to spend the French money in wild carousals, and, at most, to undertake forays. No wonder that the confederates were driven farther and farther back by the Russian troops. An attempt which their general, Pulaski, caused to be made on his own king, suspected of an inclination towards Russia, miscarried (autumn of 1771). When the Prussian and Austrian troops occupied the districts indicated in the treaty of 1772, the confederates capitulated unconditionally. No heroic resistance was to be expected from Stanislaus Augustus. While he protested to the public in ceremonial harangues, in secret he negotiated with the three powers concerning favorable conditions for his own private coffers. Thus scandalously did he seek to make personal profit out



FIG. 42.—A cartoon on the partition of Poland. Catharine II., Stanislaus, Joseph II., and Frederick II., with the map of Poland, showing the new boundaries of the kingdom which has been partitioned by them. Stanislaus is trying to keep his crown from falling off his head. From a copper-plate engraving by Noël le Mire (1724–1801). The picture appeared under the pseudonym “Erimele,” and was immediately prohibited, but the printer was allowed to take off as many copies as he could make on the day of its appearance.

of the misfortunes of his kingdom. After he attained what he desired, he lauded, in the most courtly terms, "the unselfish efforts of the Empress Catharine for the peace of Poland." Under the influence of the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian ministers, Stanislaus and the senate summoned a diet to grant legal confirmation to the cession of the occupied districts. The diet met in the spring of 1773, but was poorly attended, and even the bribes and the threats of the three envoys were unavailing to influence it. Russian troops had to enter Warsaw in order to render it more pliant. It chose a delegation to consult concerning a compact with the three powers; but this began by puffing its own patriotism in endless, pompous orations, and then entered upon an inglorious bargaining, and bartered away, often for ridiculously insignificant bribes, the welfare of the unhappy country. The excessive prolongation of the debates the Emperor Joseph took advantage of to occupy a new district between the Sereth and the Sbrutz, an example that Frederick II. was not slow in following by advancing the Prussian boundary-eagles some distance beyond the Netze. To prevent greater losses, the delegation made haste to sign, in the autumn of 1773, the cession compact, and also accepted the draught of a constitution laid before it by the three ministers. This constitution perpetuated anarchy in Poland, and still further restricted the king's power. In the course of the years 1774 and 1775 the full session of the diet confirmed all these agreements.

The first partition of Poland was accomplished by her three over-powerful neighbor states. First of all we must acknowledge that the Poles richly deserved their fate. The self-seeking arrogance of the nobles, and the servility of the people, had for two centuries converted the republic into a loose conglomerate of 100,000 petty and greater tyrants, who thought only of the gratification of their own interests and desires, and not one whit of the weal of the whole people. Their zeal for their country soon became restricted to their own personal interests, or, at best, to those of their intolerant confession. But the criminal folly of the Poles must not prevent us from condemning a deed that resulted in the entirely unjustifiable plundering of the weaker in favor of the stronger. The only one of the three accomplice states who could in any way urge the plea of self-maintenance was Prussia; East Prussia being, through the position of Polish West Prussia, altogether cut off from the main body of the kingdom, and exposed, almost defenceless, to every hostile attack.

Moreover, Frederick might allege that the Polish provinces gained by him constituted the only possible compensation for the 3,000,000 thalers that he had already paid in subsidies to Russia. Russia could urge, on her side, that she took possession of her Polish districts in order to assure herself of an equivalent for the Turkish conquests she was not allowed to make. Austria acted without any sort of excuse at all.

After the conclusion of the Polish partition treaty, the Turkish war became objectless for Russia; and even the Porte had soon to



FIG. 43.—Rumänzoff. Taken from a medal. (Original size.)

realize that Austria by no means thought of rendering it the armed help promised in the treaty of July, 1771, and already paid for through Turkish subsidies. At length Kaunitz declared that Austria had, indeed, promised her aid to the Moslems against Russia, but not against Prussia, and that, therefore, the convention of 1771 was to be regarded as annulled. His country, however, was careful not to return the subsidies it had received. The whole matter was nothing better than a fraud. The Porte, in the summer of 1772, consented to an armistice, and to taking part in a peace congress which was

opened in the Moldavian city of Fokshani, which, however, proved a fiasco, because the Turks refused to make cessions of any considerable extent. On the resumption of hostilities fortune was at first favorable to the Turks (1773), but this was only a temporary respite. The following campaign entirely changed the situation. General Rumänzoff (Fig. 43) so completely surrounded the army of the grand vizier, that the latter was able to rescue it only through the speedy conclusion of peace. The peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji (July, 1774)



FIG. 44. — Reverse side of the medal commemorating the journey of Catharine II. to Taurida (Crimea) in 1787, with a plan of the route. (See Fig. 105.)

declared the Crimean Tatars independent of Turkish sway; and the fortresses of Kertch, Yenikale, Kinburn (the later Odessa), and the whole stretch of land between the Bug and the Dniéper were ceded to Russia. The latter power thus acquired the northern shore of the Black Sea (Fig. 44) and received besides this the express right of free commercial navigation on it. In addition to this, Russia made it a distinct condition of the peace that the free practice of the Christian religion should be allowed the Moldavians and Wallachians, and that they should be given mild treatment, and only a moderate tribute

exacted from them. Moreover, the Russian government acquired the right of interfering in favor of Moldavia and Wallachia through its ambassadors in Constantinople, and, thereby, a pretext for constant interference in the internal affairs of the Ottoman empire. In general, this war gave the empire of the czar an unequivocal predominance over its Turkish neighbor.

Austria now thought the moment had come to throw off the mask in regard to Turkey. Without the least pretext she seized that part of Moldavia lying between Transylvania and the newly acquired Galicia, namely, Bukowina. Russia and Prussia were unwilling to begin a war on account of this new acquisition of the insatiable Joseph II.; and the Porte was in no condition to do so.

Frederick II. at once set himself, with admirable energy and judgment, to the task of civilizing and amalgamating his newly acquired West Prussian territory. Both land and people were in the most deplorable condition. "The land is wasted and tenantless," complained a Prussian authority. "The breeds of cattle are degenerate and worthless, the agricultural implements most imperfect, the arable land run down and full of weeds and stones, the meadows converted into morasses, the forests cut down without regard to system, and largely destroyed. The strong castles and the larger part of the lesser cities and villages have gone to rack and ruin. The great proportion of the dwellings existing appear scarcely fit to afford shelter for human beings, but are miserable hovels, constructed of mud and straw, without art or taste of any kind. Through incessant wars and feuds, conflagrations and epidemics, and the grossest maladministration, the land is depopulated and demoralized. The administration of justice is in a no less miserable condition. The peasantry has all but died out. A middle class no longer exists. Forest and marsh cover the state, where formerly a numerous population found support."

With that ripe reflection and penetrating glance that distinguished Frederick in all his undertakings, he at once devised a comprehensive programme for the material and moral treatment of this desolate land, comprising the introduction of proved Prussian institutions, the annulment of the powers of the nobles and clergy, and the elevation of the burgher- and peasant-classes, especially through the intermixture of German elements. Frederick's aim was to make the new province of benefit to the whole state, but he saw clearly that for this end pecuniary help was imperatively demanded.

This avaricious financier did not hesitate to spend millions on West Prussia.

The organization and administration of the territory were intrusted to the best and most judicious officials that could be found. The church-lands and great private estates were forthwith sequestered, the clergy being compensated with half of the yearly rental of the former church properties. The province was, for its better administration, divided into small districts or circles, each with a *Landrat*, or high functionary, at its head. The impartial Prussian judicial system, with its equal rights for all, came immediately into operation. The subjects were declared freemen, and serfdom was abolished, being superseded in such a way that no peasant, according to Frederick's order of March 2, 1772, had to do forced labor more than three days a week. "The best means," it is said in a cabinet-order of April 1, 1772, "to introduce better ideas and habits amongst these Slavic peoples will ever be to amalgamate them gradually with Germans, even if that were only through the settlement of two or three of the latter in each village." But not only were German husbandmen and agricultural laborers brought here at a great cost, but also skilled artisans were introduced into the cities for the elevation of the industries and the bourgeoisie. As the king, over and above this, provided considerable 'rehabilitation-funds' for the cities, they gradually rose out of their filth and ruins, and assumed a cleanly and prosperous aspect. Some 1000 families of city colonists and 300 country families — all pure Germans, without a Pole amongst them — Frederick introduced into West Prussia. Finally, many Polish and German schoolmasters were appointed, in order to raise the lower classes to the Prussian standard. This last point of view ever reappears in the enactments of the great king. The rules prescribed in the cabinet-order of June 7, 1772 are golden: "The chamber must, above all, be watchful that, in the administration of their offices, the functionaries do not deal with the subjects according to the old harsh Polish conditions, inasmuch as his royal majesty is resolved to see all slavery and serfdom abolished, and his subjects treated as free people. Not the least difference shall be made between the Catholic and Protestant denominations, but all shall be treated without the least regard to the religion they profess, and on the same non-partisan footing."

With self-sacrificing industry the king was strenuous in his exertions for the elevation of the unhappy land. Houses were

erected at the expense of the monarch, mills and factories founded, and the waste lands cultivated. With almost feverish despatch, the Bromberg Canal was constructed, uniting the Vistula and Oder. Other water enterprises, as the deepening of the Lake of Goplo, and especially the rendering of several of the rivers navigable, were carried out. Model farms were organized, and forests and peat-bogs were turned into arable land. For all these, and similar undertakings in the province, the king allotted 7,750,000 thalers.

Nor were measures overlooked by this ruler for the moral amelioration of the condition of West Prussia. The clergy were enjoined to pay less attention to ceremonial observances than to the moral elevation of the people. Care was to be taken for the education of the whole population. The guzzling and carousals on Sundays, when the whole peasantry were wont to drink themselves into insensibility for the benefit of the manorial distilleries and drinking-shops, were restricted by rigorous provisions. The old unbridled license and dissoluteness, that accrued only to the good of the dominant classes, was to be put a stop to. "No compliments must be paid to the Poles, for by such they will be only spoiled; but they are to be held strictly to account that they live in accordance to our orders, and promptly and duly discharge their obligations, without having the least indulgence allowed them." In order that the land should come sooner into the possession of the Germans, Frederick, in contraversion of his usual principles, permitted the perfectly free alienation of the estates of nobles to or among citizens (January, 1776). On the other hand, he sought to win the favor of the Polish nobility by opening a military school in Kulm for the gratuitous reception of fifty-six young nobles.

From the year 1772 to 1786 the population of West Prussia is said to have been increased by 290,000 souls; the state revenue drawn from the province was augmented by a million thalers.

Through such thoughtful and kindly measures, Frederick succeeded in reconciling the West Prussians to the new order of things, and in quickly converting them into patriotic citizens. Every year Frederick appeared personally in their country, whose prosperity he declared to be one of his favorite objects. He regarded the new acquisition not so much as a gift enriching him, as a new obligation laid upon him.

Frederick's attention was soon diverted from domestic questions through the anxiety caused him by the lust for land of the Austrian

government, which was falling more and more under the influence of the Emperor Joseph.

The common solution of the Turco-Polish question by the three Eastern powers had not been calculated to improve their relations permanently, while the arbitrary and unjustifiable seizure of the Bukowina by Austria had kindled anew the distrust of Russia, and especially of Prussia, towards this power. Nevertheless, Central and Eastern Europe enjoyed some years of profound peace. Frederick pursued a peaceful policy so long as that seemed possible. He was then alarmed at the obvious purpose of the emperor, in taking possession of Bavaria, of aggrandizing the German element in the Austrian hereditary states, and of establishing for himself in South Germany a thoroughly predominant position as a counterpoise for Prussia's preponderance in the north.

The electorate of Bavaria was well worth the emperor's efforts to acquire; and the time now seemed favorable to Joseph for attaching a considerable slice of it to Austria. Of the younger line of the Wittelsbachs, which according to the succession compact of Pavia (1329) received Bavaria, only the ruling elector, Maximilian III. Joseph, was alive, the same who had ended the strife with Austria through the Peace of Füssen. After his demise the legitimate heir of Bavaria, in conformity with the family compact, was the head of the elder line, the Elector Charles Theodore of the Palatinate, who already reigned over 8500 square miles and some 700,000 subjects. Meanwhile Joseph II. refused to recognize the succession compact concluded between the Wittelsbachs as not having received imperial confirmation, and claimed a full third of the inheritance, comprising all Lower Bavaria and several Swabian and Upper Palatinate domains, as vacant fiefs, either of the empire, or of Bohemia and Austria. On this point he had already been long engaged in negotiations with the Elector Charles Theodore. The latter, already an aged man, of weak, vacillating character, without legitimate offspring, and the last of the Palatinate-Sulzbach line, cherished no dearer wish than to pass the remainder of his days in peace and quiet. Over and above this, the emperor held out the hope to him that he would elevate his illegitimate children to the rank of princes of the empire, and endow them with estates, placing at the same time a considerable sum at the disposal of the elector himself, who dearly loved pomp and profusion. In consideration of these advantages, and in the hope of receiving the

rest of Bavaria without more ado, Charles Theodore was ready to cede a considerable portion of the country to Austria. But meanwhile no definitive agreement had been arrived at between the mutual plenipotentiaries, when, on December 30, 1777, Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria suddenly died. The ministers immediately proclaimed the reunion of Bavaria with the Palatinate, from which it had been separated for four and a half centuries.

On getting tidings of this, the Emperor Joseph (PLATE XVII.) immediately caused 20,000 men to advance into Bavaria, with the threat that they would be followed by 40,000 if his claims were not recognized. Charles Theodore (Fig. 45) had not the least desire to offer resistance; and in January, 1778, a compact was made in Vienna, by which Lower Bavaria as far as the Danube, and a considerable number of former counties and baronies were ceded to Austria. The situation of Europe at the time seemed to favor this new spoliation by the Emperor Joseph. France and England were occupied in America, and Russia was considering a new Turkish war. From Prussia the emperor expected only ineffective protests, for he assumed that Frederick would not venture to break with the reorganized and carefully equipped Austrians.

But the emperor had again overshot the mark. The Prussian king was not the man who, because he himself was not threatened at the moment, would quietly see danger looming up for the future. The acquisition of Lower Bavaria must largely augment the power of Austria, while its incorporation as a reverted fief would soon be followed by similar claims. Frederick had a pretext for his opposition in the outspoken antipathy of the people of Lower Bavaria to Austrian sway, and in the aversion of the Bavarian statesmen to the disintegration of their electorate. His case was strengthened by the facts that Charles II. of Palatinate-Zweibrücken, presumptive heir of Charles Theodore, had not taken part in the compact of Vienna, and that Saxony as well as Mecklenburg had raised claims to a share of the inheritance.

Frederick's object was to unite all these enemies of Austria around himself. He was first able to induce Charles II. to enter a protest against the compact of Vienna. Saxony was equally easy to win over. The Elector Frederick Augustus was deeply offended, and threw himself openly into the arms of Prussia, concluding, on March 18, an alliance with Frederick II. Mecklenburg, too, protested against Austria's proceedings. To show the purity of his

PLATE XVII.



Joseph II. at the Time of his Co-regency.

From the copper-plate engraving (1778) by C. G. Schultze (1749-1819); original painting (1777) by Kymly.

History of All Nations, Vol. XV., page 230.



FIG. 45. — Elector Charles Theodore of the Palatinate. From a copper-plate engraving by Romanet; original painting by Pompeo Girolamo Battoni (1708–1787).

motives, Frederick made over his old claim to the duchies of Jülich and Berg to Charles of Zweibrücken, who, in return, pledged himself to undertake nothing without the counsel and consent of the Prussian king. On account of the direct collision between the Prus-

sian and Austrian interests, as well as of the haughty and ambitious disposition of both monarchs, a personal correspondence between Frederick and Joseph failed to bring about a reconciliation. Although all Frederick's efforts to find further allies remained fruitless, nevertheless, on July 3, 1778, he declared war on Austria.

Immediately thereupon Frederick in person led an army of 80,000 men from Silesia into Bohemia, while another Prusso-Saxon army of equal strength, under the king's brother, Prince Henry, also invaded Bohemia, the plan being to unite both as quickly as possible. Against these, the Austrians stood in equal strength in a strong position near Königgrätz. At first Henry as well as Frederick pressed victoriously forward; soon, however, the former slackened, lost courage, and stood still, so that the junction with his brother could not be effected. Under such circumstances the latter dared not venture an attack on the 150,000 Austrians. Maria Theresa was deeply grieved over the fact that she had to engage in a great struggle at her advanced age. She had, without the knowledge of her son, despatched the young Thugut to the Prussian king at Brauman to open peace negotiations, which, through the conciliatory disposition of the king, promised a favorable issue. In the latter half of September, the Prussians withdrew slowly toward Silesia and Saxony, holding only Austrian Silesia. During the winter the Austrians even repeatedly attempted, but without permanent success, to take up a position in Upper Silesia and the county of Glatz.

If Frederick's military undertakings had not resulted very brilliantly, the political balance inclined more and more in his favor. France, engaged in a war with England, was little pleased with Joseph's aggressive policy in Oriental affairs, and took Austria's alleged violation of the Peace of Westphalia as a pretext for denying the empress the stipulated succor. The Emperor Joseph was still disposed to maintain Austria's claims at the point of the sword; but his mother had not the least desire to involve her empire in a struggle of doubtful issue in the last days of her life, so she had recourse to the mediation offered by France and Russia. Even the emperor's obstinacy was broken down by the tidings that Russia had made peace with Turkey, and thus had a free hand to act against Austria. After accepting the Prussian ultimatum,—in conformity with the Russo-French proposals,—negotiations were opened in March, 1779, at Teschen, that resulted in the conclusion of the

Peace of Teschen in the May of the same year. The empress gave up all her claims to Bavaria to the elector of the Palatinate, and in return received the frontier district of Bavaria, encompassed by the rivers Danube, Inn, and Salzach. Saxony got the Bohemian fief in its land — the district of Schönburg — and from Bavaria a sum of 4,000,000 thalers. With the same end, Mecklenburg was granted for its state-courts the *privilegium de non appellando*, that is, freedom from appeal to the courts of the empire. Prussia, on the other hand, received nothing but the promise that, on the imminent extinction of the Hohenzollern branch-line of Ansbach-Bayreuth, the union of this principality with Prussia should meet with no objections from Austria. The War of the Bavarian Succession and the Peace of Teschen had immediately only the negative effect of having prevented Austria from extending her sway over South Germany. But their results were very weighty for the near future. The military prestige of Frederick was in some degree lessened, as he himself acknowledged; but Prussia's influence was all the more increased. Not only was the predominance in Germany wrested from Austria, but her progress on German soil towards the west was stopped. She was definitively relegated to the east, — to the Magyar and especially the Slavonian lands. All the more glorious was Prussia's position in the empire. Frederick, by maintaining without any selfish object, and through the expenditure of large sums, the rights of the weaker states of the empire against the encroachments of the ambitious and domineering emperor, held now an entirely new position in the world and especially in Germany. Up to this time men had regarded him as a rapacious prince, and, with all their admiration, dreaded him as a ruler from whom neither friend nor foe had anything good to expect. He appeared now as the bulwark of peace and right. The moral centre of gravity had so plainly passed over to his side, that even Maria Theresa wrote to her son, "He is a monster, but we are in the wrong." Those states of the empire which believed they had to dread the emperor, sought succor, from this time on, in Frederick of Prussia. The possibility of the later League of the German Princes (*Fürstenbund*) was created only through the War of the Bavarian Succession and the Peace of Teschen. The recognition by the other states of Prussia's German mission dates from the despised 'Potato War.'

CHAPTER VII.

ENLIGHTENED ABSOLUTISM IN THE NORTH.

ONLY partially had Catharine (PLATE XVIII.) been able to realize her rapacious views on the neighboring kingdoms of Poland and Turkey. In respect to the former, she had to reckon with Prussia and Austria, and to grant them a share in the plunder. Her plans extended to Sweden, so as to complete the subjugation of the whole north and east of Europe to Russian supremacy. Ever since the unfortunate war with Russia in the years 1741-1743, the party of the 'Caps,' favorably disposed to St. Petersburg, had dominated Sweden unconditionally. That country seemed to have fallen completely under the influence of the czarina, and all the more because England, in order to repress the 'Hats,' who were friendly to France, had thrown her whole influence into the scale in favor of the Russian party. A commercial treaty, concluded in the year 1766, between England and Sweden, bound the two states closely together, and so worked indirectly in favor of the Russian efforts.

In vain had France endeavored to combat Russian predominance among the Swedish aristocracy, which, since the alliance of the czarina and Frederick the Great, had been zealously supported in Stockholm by the Prussian envoy. In vain had Baron Breteuil, the French minister at Stockholm, lavished millions on the avaricious party-leaders to gain the predominance for the 'Hats.' The commercial treaty which the Swedish aristocracy concluded, in 1766, with the bitterest foe of France, England, completely opened Choiseul's eyes to the fact that no benefit was to be looked for by France from the predominance of the nobles. The recognition of this was of the highest importance for the further development of Sweden as well as of northern relations generally. While the Versailles government had favored the aristocracy no less than Russia and Prussia, and, by so doing, in so far perpetuated the internal distraction in Sweden, it now began to labor with zeal and success for the strengthening of the royal power, and so to resist Catharine's plans in a



gravé par Shebanoff

Gravé par J. B. M. de la Haye, d'après le portrait de J. B. M. de la Haye.

Reconnut vers le Nord l'aimant qui nous attire
Cet heureux conquérant profond législateur,
Femme aimable grand homme et que l'on voit admettre
Qui parvint ses États y versa le bonheur
L'original se trouve dans la collection de M. le général Mamonoff à qui cette planche est dédiée avec le plus profond respect
Le 17 Mars 1859 par le Baron d'Assolant et le Baron de Manteuffel



Maitre en l'art de régner, Savante en l'art d'écrire.
Répandant la lumière éclairant les erreurs,
Si le sort n'eût pas lui donner un Empire
Elle aurait eu toujours un Trône dans nos cœurs

Catharine II.

From a copper-plate engraving 1789 by James Walker (1748-1805); original painting by Shebanoff.

History of All Nations, Vol. XV., page 24.

much more effective way. Monarchy, if it recovered its power through French help, must submit to the influence of France. The aristocracy had shown itself, in the Russian and Seven Years' Wars, utterly worthless as an ally, while in the real successors of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII. powerful and effective confederates were to be hoped for.

On April 22, 1766, Choiseul sent to Breteuil the decisive intimation to give up his support of a corrupt constitution, and to labor for the restoration of the monarchial power.

The character of the contemporary puppet-king afforded little hope of the speedy success of the new French policy. Adolphus Frederick was too weak to carry through such a great revolution with success. But partly through the counsels of the French envoy, Count Modène, and partly through the admonitions of his fiery eldest son Gustavus, he made an attempt, at least, towards strengthening the royal power. In 1768 he required the council of state to summon the whole diet, among whose members, from the prevailing discontent in the country, he hoped to call forth a royalist reaction. When the council of state rejected Adolphus Frederick's requests, the latter, at the urgent admonition of his son, had recourse to the extreme measure of abdicating. All the municipal and military authorities refused to continue to discharge their functions without authority of the royal name, and the rude Dalecarlians appeared by thousands at the gates of the capital to demand a king. So the high nobles had to give way. In the spring of 1769 the diet was summoned.

This body fulfilled only in part the wishes of the king. It disbanded, indeed, the council of state, which had been especially offensive to him, and substituted one more friendly to the French in its place. But it rejected, though only by a small majority, any further extension of the royal functions. So things remained in this state till the death of Adolphus Frederick, on February 12, 1771.

His successor, Gustavus III., was born in the year 1746. He had grown up without serious intellectual or moral teaching of any kind. Besides, the estates of the realm had promised themselves the main guidance of the education of the young heir to the throne, and intrusted it in particular to Count Charles Gustavus Tessin, who had been formerly ambassador in Paris, where he had become an enthusiastic devotee of French literature. Through his teaching Gustavus, also, became a true disciple of the French poets and

philosophers. Voltaire was delighted with the prospect of seeing in the heir to the throne one of his docile votaries. Thus was this prince alienated from his people. His father he despised; with his mother he lived in strife; against the Danish wife, whom the council of state forced upon him, he cherished a violent antipathy; and even towards his brothers and sisters his feelings were of the coldest. In this way his temperament, arrogant and imperious by nature, became continually harsher, and more regardless of others. No earnest work or any solid study had really cultured and strengthened his mind. If we overlook the superficial French varnish given him by Tessin, he resembled in many respects his ancestor, Charles XII. He possessed the latter's energy and passionate nature, but also his restless, adventurous character, and his contempt for all moderate and maturely considered methods of action. Already, during the crisis of 1768, he had recommended to his father a violent revolution or a *coup d'état*. He undertook, towards the end of 1770, a tour through the Continent, which soon led him to the French capital. Here he was able to win over the leading circles to his views, and entered into negotiations with them to secure their support in carrying through a monarchical revolution. In the midst of all his exertions, he received the news of his elevation to the throne; and while he publicly swore to be true to the constitution of 1720, he secretly concluded a personal compact with Louis XV. for its overthrow. He was given considerable subsidies from France, and also an able and most clear-sighted counsellor in the person of Count Vergennes, the new French ambassador in Stockholm.

At first the king had to conceal his plans in the most careful manner. Russia and Prussia were ready to maintain, by armed intervention, the constitution of 1720, so favorable to Catharine's rapacious schemes. The dominant aristocracy met the young ruler with the most pronounced distrust, and even attempted to prevent him from ascending the throne. At the diet the 'Caps' and 'Hats' united against him. In the face of such dangers, Gustavus conducted himself with perfect adroitness and dissimulation. While he won the favor of the people of the capital by his amiable and affable demeanor, he held himself carefully aloof from all government business, and assumed the appearance of meaning to live only for his pleasures. The act confirming the constitution, which was laid before him by the estates, he signed, with conscious perjury, and without hesitation.

He succeeded the more easily in this, because the estates had wasted nearly a whole year in useless recriminations. A terrible dearth aggravated the irritation and discontent of the masses, who expected an amelioration of their condition only through a strong monarchical government. Vergennes urgently counselled the prince to make use of this disposition for the carrying out of his designs. In fact, a portion at least of the 'Hats,' who were engaged in the diet in strife with the opposition party, went over, unconditionally, to the king. Gustavus had further won over a large number of the officers of the troops garrisoned in Stockholm. So, in accordance with a carefully prearranged plan, he gave the signal for the outbreak of the revolution. A Captain Hellichius, devoted to him, was instructed, on August 12, 1772, to begin a fictitious rising in the fortress of Christianstad, so that the troops in Stockholm itself could be collected, as if to suppress it. The new council of state, composed of the 'Caps,' immediately entertained suspicion of the king, and counselled his arrest. Gustavus (Fig. 46) had no time to lose. On the morning of August 19, he, with the help of the officers devoted to him, addressed himself to two regiments, who received him with applause. The people of Stockholm, long embittered against the aristocracy, joined enthusiastically in the cry: "Long live the king!" The members of the council of state were held prisoners in their chamber by thirty grenadiers while the king hurried through the streets, winning over the remaining three regiments and the masses. Within two hours, and without the shedding of a drop of blood, the *coup d'état* was accomplished which made Gustavus III. a true king, and brought an end to the aristocratic system of government, which had lasted more than half a century.

After this the monarch made use of only mild measures. The arrested state-councillors and their most important adherents were restored to freedom. In the provinces the brothers of Gustavus, who stood at the head of two army corps, succeeded in having the revolution accomplished in Stockholm generally recognized.

Nevertheless, Gustavus could not think of introducing royal absolutism into Sweden. He acted with consummate skill; on the one hand covering up his usurpation under legitimate forms of law, on the other hand giving the public no time for reflection or for organizing opposition. On August 21 he called upon the estates in Stockholm to accept definitively the form of government drawn up



FIG. 46. —Gustavus III. of Sweden (Count of Gothland). From an anonymous copper-plate engraving, which appeared in St. Petersburg, June 23, 1777.

by himself, and bearing a moderately constitutional character. Under the influence of recent occurrences, as well as of the military force, the four estates of the diet indorsed, almost without opposition, the proposals of the king. The most essential of these was the abolition of the power of the council of state, which in future was to be nomi-

nated by the sovereign, and, instead of a decisive voice, to possess only consultative functions. The monarch had the entire disposition of the armed force, the filling of all military and civil offices, the right of concluding alliances and treaties of every sort, of carrying on a war of defence: the consent of the diet being required only before engaging in an aggressive war, as also for the imposition of new taxes and the promulgation of new laws. But he could summon that body to meet at any time he wished, while it was deprived of all legislative initiative, and could only consult on the proposals laid before it by the king. In cases of necessity, the latter could even dictate laws and prescribe taxes on his own authority.

This constitution purposely admitted of much ambiguity. All depended on the spirit in which it was carried out, and whether the main emphasis was laid upon the constitutional limitations of the monarch or on his independent prerogatives. Mildly as Gustavus treated his political opponents, and eagerly as he strove for popularity, he yet reigned essentially as an absolute prince. For six years he never summoned a meeting of the diet. It stood him in good stead that Russia, which had the main interest in the continuance of Sweden's old constitution, was at that time fully occupied with Turkish and Polish affairs, and was besides intimidated through France's threat to defend Sweden against any attack. Frederick the Great, though bound to defend the constitution of 1720, did not think of doing so without the co-operation of the czarina.

It is worthy of note that the same spirit of French enlightenment that was already dominant on the absolute thrones of Prussia, Austria, Russia, Naples, Tuscany, Portugal, and Spain, had now taken possession of that of Sweden. Without troubling himself with the constitution he had dictated, Gustavus, of his own authority, introduced a series of important and meritorious reforms. Immediately after the *coup d'état*, he abolished torture, and the administration of justice was thoroughly reformed. By means of workhouses, in which voluntary laborers as well as tramps were received, the king not only, as far as possible, mitigated distress, but promoted industry. He founded the order of Vasa, to reward services rendered to agriculture, manufactures, and the arts. He created highly appropriate institutions for the care of the public health. Commerce was promoted by the construction of numerous canals, as well as by the entire emancipation of the corn-trade. The export and maritime trades were developed to an unparalleled degree. The public credit,

also, was restored by him. Gustavus secured, by means of foreign loans, the needful coined money for the redemption of all the outstanding bank-notes. An exceedingly economical administration, conjoined with a series of new financial arrangements, put Gustavus in a condition to meet the state's obligations to its foreign creditors, and, over and above this, to organize the military force of the kingdom in an admirable manner.

Nevertheless, creditable as these creations on the whole were, their multiplicity, as well as the precipitate haste with which they were introduced, showed how restless and unsettled the mind of the young monarch was. All his measures indicated less of patient and sound judgment than of a desire for brilliancy, fame, and foreign recognition. Gustavus boasted of these things to his Parisian friends, male and female, even of an edict for the freedom of the press, based on the decision of a former aristocratic diet. To earnest work he was altogether averse, but all the more addicted to dazzling and exceedingly costly festivities. He revived the knightly tournaments with all their ancient pomp, and prescribed a national costume which turned out to be of Spanish fashion. He patronized literature only in its showy form of the drama, operas and ballets being his especial favorites. He founded a Swedish academy, but — as in the case of that of Frederick the Great — it was exclusively characterized by French methods and forms. His private life was scandalously immoral, and he lived on the worst conceivable terms with his mother and wife.

This conduct of the king gave rise to discontent, which, as a matter of course, the nobles were at pains to foment and aggravate. But more serious errors were committed by the monarch. Formerly the estates had, on moral grounds, prohibited the manufacture of brandy. Gustavus now (1775) instituted a royal brandy-monopoly, and that under the most oppressive conditions. It gave constant occasion for espionage, with its army of informers and its heavy fines. The monopoly at length drove the country-people to despair. The council of state, too, which still possessed some degree of independence as representing the high nobility, was forced more and more to the background in favor of absolute government through cabinet ministers.

The first diet after the revolution, that of 1778, did not venture to offer any opposition. But people gave vent to their feelings, and libels of all sorts showed the king that he was beginning to

be hated in his dominions. Thereupon Gustavus issued an edict, in May, 1780, which, contrary to all his earlier principles, was equivalent to the introduction of the censorship. Later and severer decrees repressed all open criticism. Already disorders showed themselves in many places in the land. These difficulties took from the king all pleasure in the steady and conscientious conduct of the government. He persuaded himself that a foreign tour, and the applause he was sure to receive therein, would bring his domestic enemies to silence. In reality he was allured abroad mainly by his love of change and pleasures, and of brilliant public displays. The year from September, 1783, till August, 1784, he spent in travel in Italy and France. After his return home he—the antagonist of the aristocracy—admitted only the high nobles to his court, and, on the same principle, nominated only such as prelates.

If he had cherished the hope of conciliating the eminent families by such means he fully deceived himself. They never forgave him the *coup d'état* of August, 1772, while the common people were now much irritated that only the high-born were nominated to bishoprics.

Instead of taking account of public opinion, Gustavus thought only of completely silencing it by depriving the estates of their last vestige of power, and by superseding them by a mere committee, with which he could, of course, deal more easily than with the diet. With this end he summoned this latter body to meet in 1786.

But the new diet showed itself by no means so pliant as its two immediate predecessors. The estates rejected every proposal looking to the extension of the power of the government, and even contested the validity of several of the king's measures. Under strong symptoms of mutual dissatisfaction the diet was dissolved by the king, after a sitting of only two months.

Nevertheless, Sweden had, through the revolution effected by Gustavus III., attained greater unity and greater strength and importance, and had escaped the fate of Poland at the hands of Russia. During his second residence in Paris, Gustavus had concluded a new treaty with France (July 14, 1784), which not only promised him extraordinary subsidies in time of peace, but considerable military support in case of invasion.

While Sweden recovered herself, at least in some measure, from the deep state of decadence into which she had fallen, her neighbor and constant rival, Denmark, which for a century had enjoyed peace

and prosperity under the sway of its excellent absolute monarchs, now had to suffer from the errors of an incapable king.

The good and reforming government of Frederick V. (1746–1766) and of his Hanoverian minister, Bernstorff, had not only preserved the state from all useless participation in the Seven Years' War, but also had understood how to settle the quarrel with Russia over the Holstein-Gottorp affair. Bernstorff was also successful in furthering the prosperity of the land through the encouragement he gave to its manufactures and to its maritime trade. Besides, he lessened the burdens of the husbandman, and called into existence numerous humane and benevolent institutions. While even Fred-



FIG. 47. — Christian VII. of Denmark. From a medal.

erick the Great recognized only foreign literature and art, the Danish monarch, at Bernstorff's suggestion, attracted, not only Klopstock and Cramer, but also the teacher, Basedow, the historian, Johann Heinrich Schlegel, and the natural philosophers, Oeder and Kratzenstein, to his court and his academic institutions. Science and learning were equally favored. In Sorøe there arose an academy for the nobility in which a number of Danish literati were employed. A Danish scientific society

was founded in Copenhagen; a Norwegian, in Drontheim.

Frederick V. died on January 14, 1766, and was succeeded by his son Christian VII. (Fig. 47), who was scarcely seventeen years old. He was a fine looking, lively youth, of good natural parts, but steeped in ignorance, disposed to arrogance, yet cowardly, and utterly corrupted by bad company. At first he intrusted the government entirely to the tried Bernstorff, all of whose rivals he dismissed from office. He himself, repulsed by his captivating and highly gifted but ambitious wife, — the English Princess Caroline Matilda, — gave himself up to the most unbounded excesses, that more and more undermined his physical and mental powers. He took a long tour for his health in 1768, but returned home in January, 1769, sicker than when he left. But he brought back from his travels a new and still young physician, Dr. Johann Friedrich Struensee. Born in Halle, in 1737, the son of a pastor, Struensee had, as a country physician in Holstein, gained the confidence and favor of the local

magnate, who had in turn recommended him to the king. Struensee was a cultivated man of the world, endowed by nature with great amiability, full of ambitious and well-meaning schemes; for the rest, a pure materialist of dissolute habits, in short, a true disciple of the French Encyclopaedia. His pleasant manners and medical skill quickly won him the king's confidence and affection. Arrived in Copenhagen, he brought about a reconciliation between Christian and Caroline Matilda (Fig. 48). The queen, who thereby gained the sway over her husband, had learned to value the adroit mediator only too highly, and in her passionate love, intrusted to him the guidance of affairs. When Bernstorff opposed these intrigues, he was in September dismissed from all his offices. Under the simple title of a royal 'reader,' the young doctor became the absolute ruler of Denmark, and took advantage of his position to carry out the views of the Encyclopedists in that kingdom.



FIG. 48. — Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark.

The work attempted by Struensee was, from the first, doomed to failure, especially as he, without the least conception of practical administration, set about it with extravagant haste, and began and carried out his reforms in the most perverse way. His efforts were well-meant, but adulterated with personal vanity and desire of glory. In eighteen months there appeared no fewer than 600 new ordinances. At the very outset an order was issued by the royal cabinet, not only abolishing the censorship, but also superseding it by unlimited freedom of the press. The government was taken from the privy council and the various colleges, which had hitherto possessed it, and conferred exclusively upon the royal cabinet, — that is, on the all-power-

ful Struensee. But most meritorious was his reform of the judiciary, inasmuch as the judges had now to depend exclusively on their salaries, and no longer on bribes, and were thereby induced to expedite the processes. Privileged jurisdiction was, moreover, abolished, and a stop was put to the encroachments of the cabinet on the domain of justice. The salt-duty, so oppressive to the poor, was materially reduced. New hospitals, foundling asylums, and homes for the aged were established. The forced services of the peasants were reduced to a reasonable amount, and the husbandman was placed under the protection of the laws as against the arbitrary power of his landlord. The civil administration also, and especially the police, was completely reorganized, but in such a way as to open a door for the interference of government in private affairs, and for excessive supervision and regulations. The diminution in the revenue from salt, and the increased state expenditures, Struensee covered through a somewhat questionable expedient, — namely, the introduction of a royal lottery. Otherwise, however, he brought order and economy into the deranged financial system, and succeeded in clearing off the state debt.

In relation to foreign politics also, Struensee struck out into quite a new path. Bernstorff had purchased peace with Russia, and her consent to the final incorporation of the former Gottorp portion of Schleswig, only through Denmark's absolute dependence on the St. Petersburg government. But Struensee adopted a more independent and bolder tone towards this power, so that the Russian ambassador left Copenhagen, and diplomatic intercourse between the two states was completely broken off. Struensee was not much disturbed by the vehement threats of the czarina, but relied on the alliance with France. Against the Barbary states too, which had been guilty of repeated acts of outrage on Danish shipping, the new government acted with energy and spirit, equipping a large expedition for their effectual castigation.

Such proceedings necessarily increased the number of Struensee's enemies. The whole hierarchy of officials, and the high nobles, who saw themselves despoiled of all power, became his determined foes, finding in the emancipated press a ready agent for attacking and libelling him. The Lutheran pietists, then a very influential party in Denmark, hated him on account of his undoubted atheistic sentiments, as well as of several of his measures. The uneducated classes of the people were incapable of adequately appreciating the benefits

he had conferred. In order to intimidate all his enemies, and to show on what a firm foundation his power was based, he made his scandalous intercourse with the queen public. In this he wounded the moral feelings of the Danes; and, being himself a German, he wounded their national pride, — this all the more, because all the royal ordinances and laws were promulgated only in the German language. His imperious egoism and presumptuous arrogance showed themselves in many other of his acts. All the friends of the old system, all, in fact, who did not show themselves to be unconditional partisans of Struensee, were driven from office. In July, 1771, he was dignified by the king with the title of count. He even caused himself to be nominated cabinet minister, with the unheard-of and most unwarrantable authority of having his signature recognized as of equal validity with that of the king. To this offensive arrogance was added the recklessness with which he enriched himself, his relations and creatures, at the expense of the state. In order to lord it completely over the weak-minded king, he appointed a spy over him in the person of the chamberlain, Brandt. This latter official treated the unhappy monarch with the greatest insolence and cruelty, keeping him in subjection, like a wild beast, by means of the cudgel and the lash.

Such a government could only be sustained through force. In point of fact, by the autumn of 1771 the discontent of all ranks of the people had become so great that Struensee had constantly to protect the court and his own person by numerous soldiers, and even by planting cannon before the castle. This discontent encouraged the noble enemies of Struensee (Fig. 49) to hatch a plot for the overthrow of the queen and her minister, at the head of which appeared no less a personage than the domineering stepmother of the monarch, Juliana Maria of Wolfenbüttel; Secretary Guldberg, Lieutenant-General Count Rautzau, and several officers of high rank being her main accomplices. Only calm energy, iron consistency, and firmness could have saved the minister, who now had every man against him, and none to rely on save the imbecile king. Meanwhile he himself did everything to hasten his own destruction. He rejected all warnings, and neglected the business of the state to live for his pleasures and the gratification of his vanity. The army, which alone could have protected him, he exasperated through his arbitrary changes: and when sedition, therefore, made its appearance among the body-guard, he failed to suppress it with firmness, but let

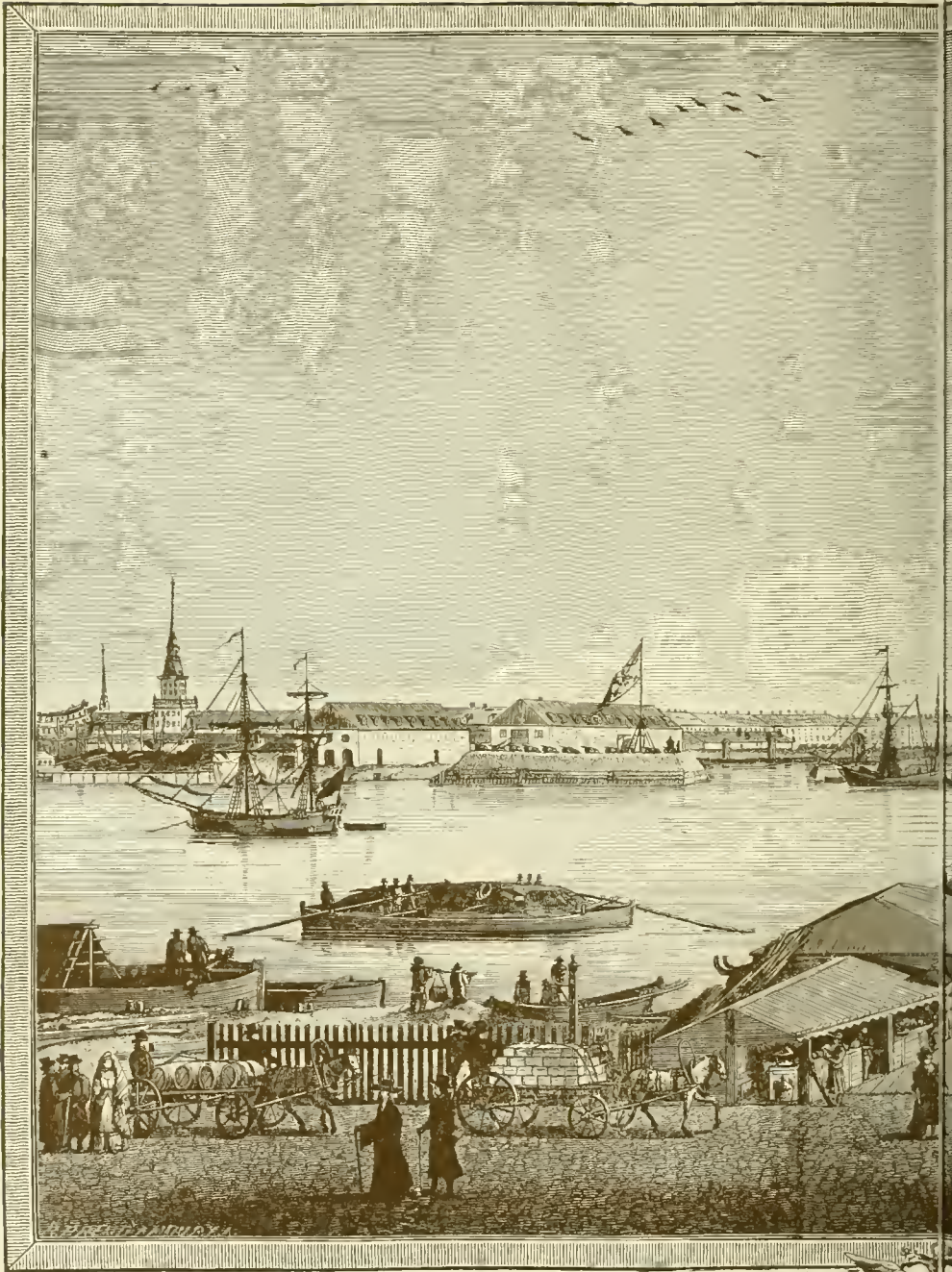
the insurgents go home, carrying rich gifts along with them. Conduct so poor-spirited, and the disarming of the guards, relieved the conspirators of all hesitation. To get possession of the king was a matter of no difficulty. Being suddenly awakened in the night of January 16-17, 1772, and informed by his stepmother of a pretended plot of Struensee and his own wife against him, he was easily persuaded to sign a warrant for their arrest and that of their partisans. Struensee and Brandt were shut up in a gloomy dungeon in the citadel of Copenhagen; the unhappy Caroline Matilda



FIG. 49. — Johann Friedrich Struensee.

was carried to the fortress of Kronenborg. A new government was formed out of the conspirators, which immediately began a criminal process against the prisoners. Struensee showed a lack of courage and cowardice that disgraced his character. Through the pretext that his life would be spared if he made a public confession, he was induced to divulge in the meanest way his confidential relations to the queen, and so worked her ruin also. Without regard

to the promise made to the fallen minister, the government had him and his confidant Brandt condemned to the loss of their right hands and heads for the crimes of high treason and impiety. The execution took place April 28, 1772. The government would gladly have brought the queen to the scaffold, and disinherited her children as illegitimate in favor of the offspring of Juliana Maria. But the threat of war by George III. of England put a stop to further proceedings against her, and the government was satisfied with dissolving the unfortunate marriage. Caroline Matilda retired to Celle in Hanover, where she died in 1775, not yet twenty-four years old.



View of St. Petersburg at the

Reduced facsimile of a contemporary engraving from the painting, Bridge, which, much changed, now stands farther down near the Winter trian statue of Peter the Great, between the bridge and the Church of St. house of the Chancellor Bestuzheff-Riumin. At the left is the admiralty against the inroads of the Swedes. The steeple which is visible behind this



end of the eighteenth century.

1791, by Benjamin Paters. The pontoon-bridge is that then called St. Isaac's Palace, and is called the Palace Bridge. At its farther end stands the equestrian statue of St. Isaac. The large building to the right is the Senate Building, earlier the building with the tower and the dock-yards, which are on an island fortified building belonged to the Kazan Church, but is no longer in existence.

As a matter of course the aristocratic government which now was in power in Denmark annulled all Struensee's reforms, even the most beneficent, and divided the money of the state. The people had bitterly to expiate its jubilation over the overthrow of the German. Guldberg became, as the king's secretary of state, the soul of this scandalous government. At length, in April, 1784, the scarcely seventeen-year-old crown prince, Frederick (VI.), through gentle compulsion, induced his mentally diseased father to nominate him as regent. As such, he dismissed the Guldberg ministry, and shut out Juliana Maria from all influence. He called to the premiership Count Andreas Bernstorff, a nephew of the former minister, who conducted affairs in the same liberal spirit as Struensee had done, but in a better-considered and more methodical manner. Not only by pursuing a steadfast policy of peace and neutrality was the younger Bernstorff the benefactor of Denmark, but also by the introduction of a long series of judicious and useful reforms. The most important of these was the abolition of serfdom.

Thus in this northern land, also, the spirit of the century triumphed in spite of all hindrances on the part of the traditional elements. In the more powerful neighbor-state, Russia (PLATE XIX.), it occupied the throne in the person of Catharine II., though the tenacious conservatism of the barbarous masses did much to impede its progress.

The common solution of the Turco-Polish question by the three eastern powers did not have the effect of rendering their relations more friendly; while, on the other hand, the arbitrary and unrighteous seizure of the Bukowina by Austria had roused the distrust of Russia, and particularly of Prussia, against that power. Notwithstanding, the next years were passed in the east in tranquillity and peace. The alliance between Frederick and Catharine held Austria in check: the Prussian king followed, on principle, a policy of peace, and the czarina's attention was mainly taken up with the threatening attitude of a large portion of her subjects. Among the lower classes, as well as among the nobles, hatred began to be felt for the foreign woman who desired to introduce a multiplicity of innovations, which might be appropriate enough for the unbelieving west, but were in no sense suitable for the old orthodox Russia.

Repeatedly the czarina made the attempt to abolish, or at least to restrict, the serfdom of the Russian peasantry; but here she met, from the otherwise so submissive nobility, resolute and stub-

born resistance. Even her attempts to secure, at least, freedom of marriage for the unfortunate serfs, as well as the right of purchasing their freedom for a sum fixed by law, were baffled by the obdurate nobility. This friend of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists had, at length, to introduce serfdom into that part of the empire where, up to this time, it had been unknown, — namely, into the Ukraine, the free land of the Cossacks. The people were too rude and ignorant to appreciate the good purposes of their ruler, and saw in her only the foreigner, who contemplated the subversion of their good old traditional usages.

The long-threatening danger took a palpable form when, in September, 1773, in the course of the Turkish war, a Cossack, Jemelian Pugatcheff, appeared in the district of the Ural, giving himself out to be the czar, Peter III., escaped from prison, and come to vindicate his legitimate rights. He immediately found support from all sides. The rising was a powerful protest against the corruption of the officials and their misrule, as well as against the slavery of the peasants. The heavy levies of soldiers during the Turkish war had aggravated the discontent, and the false Peter announced that he was come to exact satisfaction for an injured people. Cossacks, workers in the Siberian mines, oppressed peasants, and the Raskolniks streamed in masses beyond number to Pugatcheff's banner. Even many leading personages in St. Petersburg and Moscow appear to have secretly favored the rising, which, like an irresistible stream, rolled onwards towards the Volga. The troops despatched under General Carr against Pugatcheff were completely defeated, and a number of cities and strongholds taken. The whole southeast of the empire was seized with the wildest excitement. Elsewhere, also, the lower classes sympathized with Pugatcheff, so that his emissaries found acceptance even in Moscow, where the cry was often to be heard, "Long live Pugatcheff! Long live Peter III.!" The important city of Kazan fell into the power of the rebels. Everywhere over the country the peasants rose, and murdered their landlords. In June, 1774, Catharine's throne was most seriously threatened; but the socialistic tendencies of Pugatcheff's masses, and the indecision of the Cossack chief himself, saved her. The former compelled the nobles and officials to stand by the empress, and the latter gave her time to combat the revolt.

Count Peter Panin, a brother of the minister, was despatched to the scene of the disorders with a large number of troops and very



Son Altesse
PAUL

Imperiale
PETROVITCH

GRAND DUC

de Russie. &c. &c. &c.

L'édicte a Son Altesse Imperiale

MADAME LA GRANDE DUCHESSE,

Par Son tres humble et tres Obéissant Serviteur *Gub. Scordoumoff*

Published as the Act directu 11^e April 1781.

FIG. 50. — Grand Duke Paul. From a copper-plate engraving, 1781, by G. Scordoumoff (about 1748–1792).

extensive powers. But the most effective efforts for their suppression were made by a brave and determined officer of German origin, Colonel Michelson. In August, 1774, he inflicted a severe defeat on the insurgents near Zarizyn, killing 2000 of them and making

8000 prisoners. The dearth in the districts wasted by the war, the severity of Panin's measures, and the disillusion of the peasants who saw themselves only plundered and abused, resulted in the complete dissolution of the rebel bands. At length some of Pugatcheff's confidants delivered him up to the government troops. He was conveyed to Moscow, where he was tried and executed in January, 1775.

But through these successes the rule of the czarina was not secured. The discontented now turned their eyes to the new legitimate ruler in the person of Catharine's son Paul (PLATE XX.; Fig. 50), who was everywhere received with applause, while his mother was allowed to pass in significant silence. Plots were discovered among the guards to murder the empress, and elevate the crown-prince to the throne. Paul was induced by his ambitious and resolute wife, a princess of Hesse, to participate in these intrigues. Of course they came to Catharine's ears, but she did not think her position strong enough to enable her to punish them. The list of the conspirators which Paul himself—trembling for his life—delivered to her, she threw unread into the fire. Such apprehension on the part of the czarina naturally emboldened men to new machinations, even after the early death of Paul's wife. In order to get rid of these domestic dangers, Catharine adopted the plan of occupying the people's attention with a great and glorious war of conquest, a decision in which she was confirmed by her new favorite.

Catharine had gradually become tired of the brutal Grigori Orloff, and banished him from her presence. His position was taken by Grigori Potemkin (Fig. 51), the son of a petty nobleman of the district of Smolensk. He impressed the empress through his gigantic form and great strength of body, and by his wit and strong memory, but above all by his noisy boastfulness. He maintained himself in his position by constantly fomenting her distrust of her son, and representing himself as her only reliable defender, and by dazzling her with brilliant pictures of fame and greatness, especially the driving of the Turks out of Europe and the acquisition of Byzantium. The deluded empress gave to her oldest grandson the name of Alexander; to her second—for whom she destined the Greek empire—the no less significant name of Constantine. But the strength of Russia was altogether inadequate for such vast undertakings; already Catharine had to carry on her wars with paper money. She sought, therefore, an ally for her new policy; and as Frederick of Prussia was plainly averse to involving himself in Ori-

J'ai eu mon cher fils que ce point sur lequel
vous venez de m'écrire aujourd'hui n'était
point du tout problématique et que m'a
lettre du 11. Mai n'avait pu vous laisser au
cun doute sur la permission que je vous
ai donc d'aller en Finlande, la guerre
n'est point déclarée encore et il n'y a point
non plus d'hostilité de commencée, Nos pre-
miers coups doivent être défensifs
mais à tout heure il faut s'y attendre.
Je salue ma chère fille et vous en
baise.

le 24 Juin 1788. en sortant du Secum pour
la bataille de Leshma

ental adventures, she was induced to have recourse to his antagonist, the ambitious and unstable Joseph II. She was all the more certain to secure his favor because he had come out of the War of the Bavarian Succession filled with the bitterest sense of wrong against Prussia.

Russia immediately began operations with the determination of making the influence she had acquired at Teschen really effective.



FIG. 51.—Potemkin. Front side of the medal commemorating the journey to Taurida. (See Fig. 41.)

With that selfish neglect of all patriotism, always characteristic of the German princes of the empire, the petty sovereigns now addressed themselves to the mighty empress (Figs. 52, 53), begging for her assistance in increasing their privileges, advancing their titles, and for support in subsidies and pensions. Frederick II. was in too precarious a situation to work against this tendency, but had rather, in an almost humiliating way, to sue for the friendship of the czarina.

But her superior position did not long satisfy the czarina, and



FIG. 52. — Coins of Catharine II. 1. Catharine in the first years of her reign (with neck-ruffle). 2. Catharine about the middle of her reign. 3. Catharine in the last years of her reign. 4. Siberian copper coin.

she aimed at tangible advantages in the form of conquests. Joseph, who thought he saw in this a means for recouping himself for all the discomfitures he had suffered through the Peace of Teschen, declared himself ready to assist her. The wish of rendering the Prussian king powerless through the dissolution of his alliance with Russia, and of thereby attaining the upper hand in Germany, and over and above this, of acquiring new lands in the Balkan Peninsula, blinded the Austrian monarch to the dangers which must come to his empire through the extension of Russian power to the Bosphorus. Maria Theresa, on the other hand, did not wish to see new complications and dangers invoked around her at her advanced age ; and, besides this,



FIG. 53. — Coins of Catharine II. 5. Tauridian silver coin. 6. Ordinary copper coin, such as were made in Moscow and St. Petersburg. 7. Coined in Jassy from captured cannon.

she cherished a lively personal aversion to the immoral czarina. But her opposition was no longer of avail to check the plans of her ambitious son and the state-chancellor, who let himself be guided by the former. On the other hand, Frederick did his utmost to maintain his alliance with Catharine ; but as he made the integrity of Turkey the condition for such a relation, he could offer no counter-equivalent for Joseph's overtures. He found, on the whole, support in St. Petersburg from Panin, who proposed to his empress, as a check on Joseph's dangerous ambition, a triple alliance between Russia, Prussia, and the Porte. But the minister's plan, as may



ALEXANDRE COMTE
Grand Maître de la Cour de Sa Majesté
Son Conseiller privé & le seul Directeur général des finances
et Grand Croix
gracie de sa grace d'original dans ses attributions



DE BESBORODKA
Imperial, de toutes les Russies
Chevalier des Ordres de S. André de S. Alexandre Nevsky
de celui de S. Vladimir
Grand parr de sa grace d'original dans ses attributions

FIG. 54. — Alexander, Count Besborodko. From a copper-plate engraving by James Walker (1748–1808); original painting by J. B. Lampi (1751–1830).

easily be conceived, was promptly rejected. Catharine only contemplated using Austria's support, without granting her in any way a full share in the plunder.

When the able Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg, Count Cobenzl, at Joseph's behest asked a personal meeting between him

and Catharine, the latter, notwithstanding the opposition of the Prussian party in her court, and especially of Panin, willingly acceded to the proposition. In conformity with her invitation, Joseph, under the pseudonym of Count Falkenstein, arrived at Mohileff, in June, 1780. Amid endless festivities and pageants he accompanied her to Moscow and St. Petersburg, the two monarchs overwhelming each other with all forms of adulation, and discussing far-seeing schemes of conquest, which, however, resulted in no definite compact; for so long as Maria Theresa lived, Joseph could scarcely so much as think of the realization of his plans. Frederick, alarmed to the utmost by this meeting, sought to divine its true import by immediately sending the Prince of Prussia to St. Petersburg. But there the prince met with an unfriendly reception; and immediately after his departure, Catharine took the foreign affairs out of the hands of Count Panin, and put them into those of the experienced, but completely pliant Count Besborodko (Fig. 54).

At length the last obstacle to the Austro-Russian alliance was removed by the death of Maria Theresa (Fig. 55) on November 29, 1780. The Viennese showed themselves perfectly indifferent on the occasion of her obsequies, and were rather glad to be rid of their old mistress. Matters were by no means in a reassuring condition in Austria. As Hungary contributed almost nothing to the taxes, the War of the Bavarian Succession, which had cost 45,000,000 florins, had resulted in augmenting the taxes on the German hereditary lands by ten per cent. With special apprehension, therefore, the Austrian people regarded the new government, from which they dreaded an adventurous foreign policy, and one of rashly precipitate innovations at home.

Immediately on the demise of the gray-haired empress, the negotiations between Vienna and St. Petersburg became much more animated. The two monarchs interchanged letters overflowing with mutual admiration and affection, and yet meant only to serve the purposes of a calculating and self-seeking ambition. No specific treaty was arrived at between them; but in an autograph letter of May 21, 1781, Joseph received from Catharine the proposed conditions of the alliance, comprising not only the promise of mutual support against any foreign assailant, but the pledge that in the event of one of the two powers quarrelling with the Porte, the other should place a large number of land and marine troops at its disposal, and make peace only in common with the other. Besides

this, the czarina had, during their meeting in the previous year, given her assent to the exchange by Austria of the remote and — for her — completely useless Belgium for Bavaria. As it was known that Prussia, under all circumstances, would resist the emperor's acquisition of the latter land, the sharp point of the treaty was



FIG. 55. — Maria Theresa as a widow. From a copper-plate engraving by Adam.

directed as much against Berlin as against Stamboul. Kaunitz, as hostile as ever to Prussia, was the only man who enjoyed the respect of the self-confident emperor. Both desired to carry out a new system for Austria, which should enable them to conduct a war of conquest abroad on a grand scale. But both these men, highly gifted

as they were, entirely ignored the simple truth that a reform revolutionizing all existing relations could only be carried out in a time of the most profound peace: and that it would be not only in vain, but disastrous, to initiate simultaneously a domestic revolution and a foreign war of conquest.

The opportunity for foreign conquest appeared ready, when, in May, 1782, conflicts over the throne broke out in the Crimea, which the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji had declared independent. Catharine maintained that these conflicts were provoked by the Porte, and prepared herself for armed intervention. In September, she explained to her friends in Vienna her plans in detail. For herself, she desired only a piece of Bessarabia, with Otchakoff, and some islands in the archipelago, while Moldavia, Wallachia, and the rest of Bessarabia—under the name of Dacia—was to be made over to a prince of the Greek church,—that is, to a vassal of Russia. The whole south of the Balkan Peninsula was to fall, as a Greek empire, to the czarina's second son, Constantine. In one word, European Turkey was intended to form mediate Russian provinces. The emperor answered her with no more modest counter claims. He required, not only Little Wallachia, the banks of the Danube as far as the mouth of that stream, western Servia, together with Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also Istria and Dalmatia, which belonged to Venice, and the whole republic of Ragusa. When Catharine would have nothing to do with such an unjustifiable scheme, the emperor threatened her with a breach of their treaty. The czarina let him storm and rage as he would, and went quietly on her way without again asking his counsel.

She ordered her troops, under Potemkin, to advance into the Crimea, and decreed, in April, 1783, the incorporation of this peninsula with the Russian empire. Resistance on the part of the natives was anticipated through the systematic and merciless butchery of thousands of the nobles and men of higher position. The Khan Shagin-Girei, in consideration of the promise of a yearly subsidy, evacuated the land which he could not defend against the czarina, and had himself installed in the interior of Russia. The Porte felt too weak to resist Russian outrages, and recognized, through the Treaty of Constantinople (January, 1784), Russia's acquisition of the Crimea, ceding, over and above this, certain districts in the Caucasus. In point of fact, Catharine was only prevented from carrying out new acts of robbery at the east of the impotent

Porte by France, who ostentatiously armed herself, in order, with the help of Prussia, to ward off the perpetration of further acts of violence on the Ottoman Empire. With the Crimea, Russia acquired the dominion of the Black Sea, and from that time immediately threatened Constantinople.

The Emperor Joseph had seen with secret displeasure the one-sided acquisitions of his dangerous ally. In order not to remain idle on his part, he again took up his favorite plan of acquiring Bavaria, through giving Belgium in exchange for it. But the execution of this project was dependent on one indispensable condition, — namely, on the emancipation of Belgium from its half dependent state, in which the Utrecht and Barrier treaties had placed it in regard to Holland. This involved the removal of a number of Dutch garrisons from Belgian fortresses, and the opening of the Schelde for free navigation to the sea. It is true that these restrictions had had an import for Belgium only so long as she had reason to dread an attack from France. For this reason the Dutch had sought, through their own troops, to strengthen Belgium's power of resistance, and, as compensation, had closed the harbor of Antwerp in favor of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. From the friendly relations that for thirty years had prevailed between France and Austria, a French invasion of Belgium was scarcely longer to be thought of.

So in 1781 Joseph availed himself of the war which had broken out between England and the United Provinces to demolish almost all the Belgian fortresses, and thus to induce the Dutch garrisons to retire from the country. In August, 1784, he demanded from the States-General of Holland the opening of the Schelde and of the trade of the two Indies to his Belgian subjects, and the release of a number of South Holland strongholds. Certain that the Hague government would accept this ultimatum, Joseph had already caused his ships to put to sea.

Confiding in his double alliance with Russia and France, the emperor believed that he had no resistance to look for from the States-General of Holland. But these remained firm, and rejected the Austrian demands; and when, in defiance of them, a Belgian ship sailed down the Schelde from Antwerp, and another left the harbor of Ostend, both were captured by Dutch war-ships, but were returned a few days later.

Joseph, enraged at this insult to his honor, gave vent to the most extravagant threats. The Provinces believed they must be prepared

for the worst, and summoned all males from eighteen to sixty years of age to enter the army. But it soon appeared how little the emperor and Kaunitz could rely upon their assumed allies. To Joseph's great vexation Russian diplomacy showed itself utterly lukewarm, and France showed herself directly hostile. The foreign minister, Vergennes, was in general no friend of the emperor, whose alliance with Russia and policy of violence against the Poles and the Porte had already sensibly injured French interests. The cabinet of Versailles, to strengthen its influence in Western Europe, had proposed in The Hague a defensive alliance with Holland. Louis XVI. declared that he would not endure an attack on the free Netherlands, and offered at the same time his mediation.

The situation had thus assumed a form quite different from that which Joseph had anticipated. Instead of being in a position, through the help of Russia and France, to overpower easily the States-General of Holland, he was now deserted by the former power, and threatened by the latter with a war on a grand scale. But such a war he was by no means willing to undertake, and further dreaded seeing Frederick also taking the field against him. He gave way on all points, his versatile and chimerical spirit only seeking to make use of the peril of war to prevail on the powers, and especially on France, to accept his Belgian-Bavarian exchange plan. But even in this he was unsuccessful. Though Marie Antoinette labored earnestly in Versailles in favor of her brother, Louis XVI., following the advice of his ministers, referred his imperial brother-in-law, with his ambitious plans, to the king of Prussia, that is, to the most decided antagonist of the project of exchange. Joseph had, for the present, to give up this hope as lost.

There only remained for him, so far as this was concerned, to make his retreat in the most favorable circumstances possible. Two Dutch ambassadors came to Vienna, and offered humble apologies for the insult to his flag. In consideration of this, and of the evacuation of the Dutch forts in the immediate neighborhood of Antwerp, the emperor renounced, in the Peace of Fontainebleau (November, 1785), the free navigation of the Schelde, and in consideration of 10,000,000 florins, of which France generously contributed 4,500,000, he also gave up his claim upon the strong Maestricht. This result, effected through this *Trinkgeld* ('fee'), as Frederick derisively called the 10,000,000 florins, after such imposing claims and such violent threats, was fatal to the prestige of the

emperor. Especially in Belgium, which had cherished the most brilliant hopes of commercial advancement, the Peace of Fontainebleau excited a deep-seated and abiding bitterness. For the second time the house of Austria had promised the Belgians the emancipation of their commerce, only to deceive them on both occasions.

As little success had the emperor's plans in Germany, where he was opposed with increasing success by the hoary Frederick of Prussia.

CHAPTER VIII.

GERMANY IN THE LAST YEARS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

IT was surprising to see how Austria, the hitherto impregnable stronghold of all conservative interests, now pursued the path of domestic reform with feverish haste under the sway of the Emperor Joseph. These reforms were not indeed the main aim of her ruler, but were undertaken by him with ulterior views. A humanitarian spirit undoubtedly animated Joseph II.; and in seeking to realize the principles of 'enlightenment,' he certainly wished to promote the welfare of his subjects. But this was not the essential aim of his efforts. Unlike Frederick the Great, he had shown a complete indifference, nay, aversion, to the literature of the 'enlightenment,' and had only accentuated the popular, useful, and practical in it, and borrowed from it the principles of the omnipotence of the state and of princely absolutism. Finally, he imitated this school in its hostility to all traditional morality and every historical peculiarity. Only these conditions induced Joseph to make an ally of the 'enlightenment' for his own purpose — namely, the establishment of a despotism free from all restriction. All the lands and peoples of the Austro-Hungarian dominions were to be fused into a single state under the absolute and exclusive rule of the monarch. The 'philosophy' was in so far welcome as it offered a justification for the measures directed against every independent power still extant within the state, whether provincial, aristocratic, or ecclesiastical. Joseph wished his subjects to be prosperous, but that mainly because a numerous, wealthy, and powerful population was of most avail for the ends of his absolutely ruled state. Possibly he would have succeeded, with the help of the 'enlightenment,' in carrying out the heavy task of making out of Germans, Slavs, Magyars, Rumanians, and Italians, a united, intelligent, and patriotic people, if he had gone to work systematically and with all possible circumspection and consideration, and had carefully avoided every foreign complication and difficulty. But by precipitately endeavoring to attain all at once, he subverted all the relations in

the interior of his empire, offended every class, every nationality, every faith, as well as every prejudice, and fell out with all his neighbors.

Joseph's measures were chiefly directed against the privileges of the aristocracy. "The prince ought to cherish no preference for individuals," he said, "but should have equal regard for all his subjects. I owe justice to every man, without distinction of person or rank." In the Germano-Slavic provinces, all the assemblies of the estates were repressed, so that they were continued only as a piece of ostentatious pageantry. The nobles were stripped of all their authority over their serfs, which was made over to the imperial local officials, even the privileged classes being thoroughly subordinated to them. All the prerogatives of the nobility before the tribunals, as well as their occupation of public offices, were abolished. The system of agriculture was most strictly regulated, and the duties of the peasants to their landlords were modified in a manner more considerate for the former. The Emperor Joseph, in 1782, took the great step which Prussia did not venture upon till after the unhappy events of 1806 and 1807, of abolishing personal servitude. If the peasantry and the inhabitants of the small cities had been the subjects of their landlords rather than of their sovereign, all this was now completely changed. And with equal recklessness did Joseph proceed against the Hungarian aristocracy, who were still more self-confident and powerful, and politically more highly developed, than the Germans and Slavs. As he had avoided having himself crowned in Hungary, and giving his oath to the constitution there, he believed he was in no way bound by it, and violated it without scruple by promulgating arbitrary ordinances, irrespective of confirmation by the diet, and generally speaking strengthened the central authority in a very partial manner (Fig. 56). The antiquated system of county administration was annulled, and the land divided into ten great departments, which were now ruled by imperial officials much more economically and efficiently than the counties had formerly been by the dignitaries of the estates. Hungary's independence and freedom were annihilated with truly revolutionary suddenness and disregard of right. The abolition of the customs-barriers between this country and Austria — just and necessary as the measure was — created bad blood between them. Finally, the edict making German the sole official language in Hungary was as unjustifiable as it was arbitrary. Thus the Hungarians seemed excluded from

the administration of their own affairs. These and similar imperial edicts simply strengthened the hatred of everything German in all the Magyar lands. The discontent was universal. Even the



FIG. 56. — Joseph II. as absolute monarch. From a copper-plate engraving by J. Adam.

Protestants of Hungary, who had to thank Joseph for so much, murmured against him when he changed their schools into state institutions. The carrying off of the crown of St. Stephen to the

treasury of Vienna was the external symbol of the annulment of the independence of Hungary, and expressed emphatically its subordination to the will of the emperor. Uprisings occurred, especially among the Wallachians of Transylvania (1784), which could only be repressed by the effusion of blood. In order to destroy the influence of those who seemed disposed to be the leaders of the growing discontent, the emperor (Fig. 57) did all in his power to induce the Hungarian grandes to take up their abode at the court of Vienna (Fig. 58). In this he succeeded to a certain extent: but the only consequences were that the Hungarian people became alienated from their natural leaders, and that the incomes of these magnates, to the amount of millions, were withdrawn from the already poor Hungary.

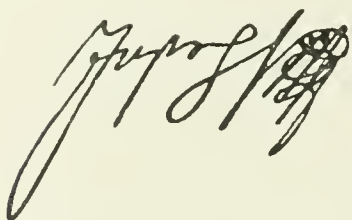


FIG. 57. — Signature of Joseph II.
From a letter to Theodore, Abbot
of Corvei, containing the news of
Maria Theresa's death; dated
Vienna, November 30, 1780.
(Privy State Archives at Berlin.)

What the emperor was really aiming at was shown by the rigid military discipline enforced upon the official classes, which, through the strictest record of conduct and the favor shown to secret informers, he sought to bring into a state of slavish subjugation. He ordered that nothing in any way important should be undertaken without the clear expression of his will, and, on the other hand, that his orders should be carried out in the strictest

manner and without the slightest variation. We see that Joseph desired to imitate Frederick the Great in being the sole effective authority in the land.

Husbandry and commerce were also subjected to severe regulations from above. The administration of the cities had to submit itself to no less severe control by the emperor and his subordinates, and endure their constant encroachments on their communal independence. Through this undoubtedly good was affected in many places: but so much discontent was called forth in many individuals, that when it took a concentrated form, it became seriously dangerous. It was a difficult and hopeless task to compel the manifold Austrian lands, without regard to the deep differences between them, to accept within a few years the same laws and a uniform system of administration.

The co-regency of the clergy, so powerful in Austria for cen-



FIG. 58. — View from the fortifications of Vienna looking towards the suburb of Alser. From the original, 1782, by J. Ziegler. In front the parade-ground; adjoining this, the Alser barracks; to the left, the Alser Minorite Church; to the right, the Church of the Spanish Black Friars (now the Evangelical Garrison Church); to the right, in the background, the Kahlenberg.

turies, was also to be restricted as far as possible. In his efforts for this end, Kaunitz supported the king with all his power. Even in December, 1780, a few weeks after the death of Maria Theresa, Joseph wrote to Choiseul: "The influence which the clergy exercised on the government of my mother will constitute one object of my reforms. It gives me no pleasure to see that those people to whom the care of our future life is committed, occupy themselves more especially with our existence here below." The bond which united the monasteries with foreign superiors was completely broken, and the despatch of money to the latter prohibited. The validity of papal bulls and letters was made dependent on the royal pleasure. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction through nuncios was completely annulled, and conferred on the national bishops. The religious patent of Maria Theresa, establishing the exclusive authority of the Catholic church, was repealed in 1781; and in October of that year, through the 'Patent of Tolerance,' full toleration was granted the Jews, and to the Protestants full civil equality with the Catholics. From that time secessions from Catholicism to Protestantism became general throughout Austria. Every act of violence—even any bribe—to induce the Jews to change their faith was forbidden.

Such principles and ordinances were altogether new in Austria, and must have been regarded by the bigoted portion of the population as acts of hostility to religion. But the emperor proceeded immediately to attacks on the hierarchy. A law of 1782 abolished all spiritual orders that did not devote themselves to teaching or to the care of the sick (Fig. 59). Their property was taken possession of by the state, the lesser portion of it being assigned for the maintenance of the existing monks and nuns, but the greater part for augmenting the number of the parishes and improving their stipends. Of the 2700 religious houses in the Austrian dominions, only seven hundred remained extant; in these there lived, in place of the 36,000 inmates of both sexes, only 2700. Even these were made subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops, and the subterranean dungeons of the monasteries were closed. After all fixed guaranties for the independence of the church had disappeared along with the monasteries and convents, the bishops had next to experience the heavy hand of the state. They were required to swear an oath of fealty and obedience to the emperor, and after that, to the pope with reservation of the former vow.

The Austrian and Hungarian clergy, indeed, attempted, under



*Omnis arbor, quæ non facit
Fructum bonum excidetur----*

Matthæus cap. 13 v. 19

*Tout arbre, qui ne fait pas
bon Fruit, est coupé----*

Matth. cap. 13 v. 19

Ein jeglicher Baum, der nicht gute Früchten bringt, wird ausgehauen ---- *Matth. cap. 13 v. 19*

Publis à se vend à Vienne chez Christoph. Terraccella, Rue d'Orléans et Editeur de M. de Neufville

FIG. 59. — Allegory on the suppression of the monasteries by Joseph II. Reduced facsimile of a contemporary copper-plate engraving.

the leadership of their most eminent representatives, the Cardinal-Archbishop Migazzi of Vienna, and Archbishop Batthiany of Gran, to recall the emperor to the ways of his pious mother; but the representations of the prelates were courteously, but decidedly, repelled. The prince-elect of Treves received a sharper rebuff when he entered his protest against the subjection of the church to the secular tribunals. The papal nuncio next intervened; and even Pius VI. ultimately announced that he would himself pay a visit to Vienna. Joseph in vain replied to the pontiff that his ecclesiastico-political measures were adopted after the most mature consideration, and were therefore irrevocable. In vain did he intimate to His Holiness that he had better not undertake the journey. In vain were the protests of the majority of the cardinals, who were unwilling to see the prestige of the Holy See lowered by so useless, and withal so conspicuous, an undertaking. Pius had such confidence in the winning and imposing effect of his personality that he insisted on the journey, and made it in March, 1782. He saw himself everywhere received with the greatest reverence, and treated by the emperor himself with submission and veneration, and in no way interfered with in the exercise of his priestly function. He might bless and absolve as many thousands as he would; admit noble dames to kissing his hand; inspect monasteries; place the triple crown upon his head, and set himself on a throne loftier than that of the emperor; but further success he had none. All direct dealings with the emperor were rejected by the latter, who would hear only of the ordinary diplomatic ways of negotiations. Pius (Fig. 60) had to observe that, even during his presence in Vienna, the process of closing the monasteries was continued without interruption. He was too clever a man to let his disillusion be noticed, but after a four weeks' stay with the emperor he quietly went homeward.

Pamphlets, which directly attacked his position as supreme head of the church, followed him. Even the emperor himself did not hesitate to follow on the path thus trodden for him. In Vienna he established a supreme ecclesiastical commission, and in each of his other lands an inferior commission, which regulated all church affairs, even to the most minute detail. He forbade all pilgrimages; prohibited numerous ceremonies which he stigmatized as superstitious; subordinated the marriage-law to the power of the state; caused a catechism to be compiled by the secular authorities; and commanded the introduction of German hymns.

Joseph is said even to have cherished the thought of a complete separation of the Austro-Hungarian Church from Rome, somewhat after the type of the English Church under Henry VIII.; but this is unproved. The fact is, however, that he, towards the end of the year 1783, journeyed for the second time to Rome, and reconciled himself with the Pope, from whom he acquired the right of nomination to the Lombard bishoprics and other prelacies. This, however, did not restrain him from closing the existing episcopal seminaries for priests, and instituting in their place a general seminary for young clergy, under state supervision, at every university. — a measure that called forth vigorous protests from clerical circles. The clergy were also much injured in their personal interests through the prohibition of any one holding more than one benefice.

It is easy to understand that a man like the Emperor Joseph was anxious to promote the general education of his subjects, in order to make them abler and more useful citizens. For the measures adopted for this end he availed himself chiefly of the counsel of the Baron Joseph von Sonnenfels, a convert from Judaism. Without the merit of having produced any eminent work, Sonnenfels knew how to make his influence felt, and was consulted in regard to all scientific, artistic, and political questions. Frederick the Great had permitted to Algarotti and Lamettrie no influence on legislation; it is, on the contrary, highly characteristic of Joseph II. that he attached great political and scientific importance to Sonnenfels, who was, in reality, shallow, ignorant, and unintellectual.

It is the emperor's special merit that he elevated education to a degree of excellence that had not been attained in any other European country. He introduced universal compulsory education and gratuitous instruction, instituting at the same time numerous normal schools for the training of teachers. Unfortunately here, also, he proceeded with too great haste, and called into existence institutions not in harmony with the conditions and views of the Austrian peoples. Besides this, he showed his thoroughly autocratic character by the extravagantly severe censorship to which he subjected all the productions of the press. As, besides, all printed matter had to bear a high stamp, — a kreutzer for each sheet, — his measures resulted in the complete repression of every sort of literary activity in Austria. In conformity with his professions of toleration, he opened the lecture-rooms of the gymnasia to Protestant students, and their chairs to professors of the same faith. But at the universities noth-

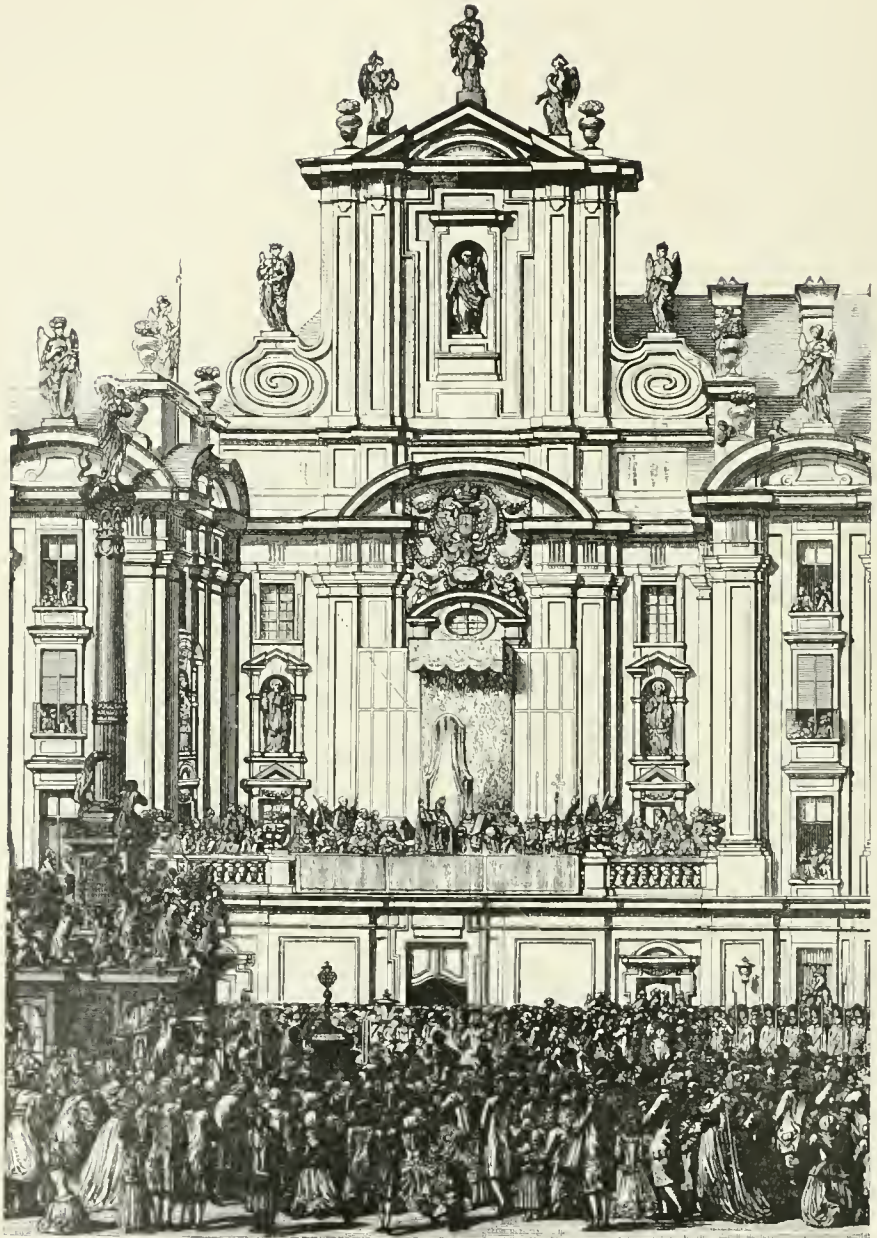


FIG. 60. — Pius VI. giving his blessing, 1786, from the balcony of the Church of the Nine Angel-choirs on the square 'Am Hof,' in Vienna. From the original, 1786, by Karl Schütz (1746-1800).

ing beyond the practically useful was allowed to be taught, and that in conformity with strictly prescribed handbooks. On the other hand, through a new criminal code, penal procedure assumed a more considerate and humane form. In keeping with this, Joseph introduced into Hungary an improved organization of the tribunals and procedure.

The emperor thoroughly accepted the physiocratic views, according to which agriculture is the most important source of national wealth. As these were in keeping with his general humanitarian opinions, he favored the peasant-class in all ways. The rights of the peasants to free migration, to marry independently of the pleasure of the land-owners, and to the full ownership of their farms, were declared. The newly established district-magistrates constituted strict supervisors over the proprietors and zealous protectors of their tenantry. These measures had a powerful effect in elevating the peasant-class, and eliminated the main impediments to the pursuit of their industry. On the other hand, they helped to realize the main object of Joseph's policy,—namely, the omnipresence of the government, and the expansion of its influence over everything related to the state. The figure of the monarch, regarded through this friendly light, has remained ever popular. Joseph, 'the peasants' emperor' (*Bauernkaiser*), after his death acquired a popularity that was denied to him while he was alive.

The emperor's diligence in the sphere of the state finances was unlimited. He improved their condition permanently, and that, indeed, not through raising the taxes, but through economy of the right sort. He limited the brilliant and costly housekeeping as carried on in the days of his mother, abolished sinecures and gifts to undeserving courtiers, and everywhere avoided useless outlays.

So extraordinary was the industry of this restless ruler that the handbook of the laws, enacted by him in only five years, fills five octavo volumes. Later this well-meant and self-sacrificing, but feverish and reckless passion for creation was to be fraught with the direst consequences for the emperor and the whole state, though for a time Joseph was able to flatter himself that he had brought about an undreamed-of development and progress.

In Germany his foreign policy at once assumed a daringly aggressive character, in which it had the full approval of Kaunitz.

The unfortunate proceedings which had frustrated the examination and reformation of the Imperial Court of Chancery (*Reichs-*

Kammergericht) put the complete disintegration of the empire, as a political body, in the clearest light. By reason of the hostility between the two equally strong great powers, Austria and Prussia, the diet was unable to transact any business, and was paralyzed, just as it had been two hundred years before through the separation of the confessions. One consequence of the seemingly hopeless situation was that the estates of the empire were no longer willing to bear the burden of representation, but devolved it upon a smaller and smaller number of joint representatives. Ultimately there were only twenty-nine of these present in Ratisbon. Thus the college of princes, instead of its 100 legal voices, had now only fourteen, while the fifty-two imperial cities were represented by eight votes, mostly intrusted to members of the magistracy of Ratisbon. Many deputies had to vote for ten territories. An assembly so meagrely attended and so artificial could plainly no longer represent the German nation. The financial and military systems were, even at the time of the Seven Years' War, in a wretchedly disorganized condition, and since then the bitter conflict between the Austrian and Prussian parties had still further deranged them. The imperial tribunals were, as already mentioned, as impotent as they were venal. Up to this time the labors of Prussia to bring about a reorganization of the old federal-monarchical constitution of Germany, on the basis of a union among the more powerful and really healthful principalities under Prussian guidance, met with no success. So great was the power of the second-rate German territories, and so definite their individual institutions, that the German people could no longer represent themselves in their totality as one commonwealth. But then, again, so numerous were these territories that none of them was able to maintain an existence purely self-dependent, and to become a fully equipped state. Besides, nothing could be done with those cities, towns, counts, and knights which were immediately subject to the empire. They must simply disappear, and be absorbed into the greater territories, if Germany would vie with her great neighbors. Only a thoroughly revolutionizing transformation could be of avail. Even a Frederick the Great was not in a position to effect anything permanent there.

Although the diet still rang with the battle-cries of the confessions, these, in the estimation of the cultured classes, had lost much of their value. Men followed with much more attention the conflict that had broken out in the domains of literature and science

between rationalism and orthodoxy, as for example, between Lessing and the intolerant chief pastor of Hamburg, Goeze.

It did not escape notice that Lessing's noble and well-meaning chief, the Duke of Brunswick, protected him, indeed, but forbade him to continue the controversy, whereupon Lessing transferred it to the domain of the drama (where his adversary could not follow him), and published his "*Nathan the Wise*," a book characterized by genuine toleration, and embodying with all wisdom the true import and deeper principles of all positive religion.

In the larger Protestant countries, outside of Prussia, this rationalistic tendency was zealously combated by the state authorities. In Saxony, in spite of the Catholicism of the ruling house, not only the preachers and teachers, but the state servants of every sort, had to give their pledge on oath to support the doctrines of the Protestant church. In Würtemberg the Catholic ruler, Duke Charles Eugene (Fig. 61) prohibited in 1780, on the pain of discharge from office, preaching and teaching controverting the doctrines of the Protestant church as expressed in the creeds, and subjected the theological writings of the clergy to the censorship of the ducal consistorium, or of the theological faculty of Tübingen.

It cannot be doubted that rationalism was essentially a negative and disintegrating agency, and that no revival of the German national spirit was to be expected from it. By occupying itself with the coldly rational, the practically useful, and the gratification of a refined selfishness, it was admirably adapted for getting rid of the antiquated, the foolish, and the unsuitable, but not for producing a fervid and self-sacrificing enthusiasm for a truly reforming activity, or even for giving the latter a definite and generally effective form. The 'enlightenment' in Germany was destitute of that impassioned social-political element directed towards the grand and universal which had produced such important results in France, and which ultimately freed Germany also from her political wretchedness. On the other hand, it is the constant merit of this tendency that it mollified the earlier rudeness of manners and disposition in the country, and made room for a mild, humane spirit, which for a long time influenced the following century.

From the standpoint of rationalism proceeded Johann Bernhard Basedow (1723-1790), the reformer of the German system of education. He was more effective through his indirect, than his direct, agency, and therefore often misunderstood. His heterodox philoso-



FIG. 61. — Duke Charles Eugene of Württemberg. From a copper-plate engraving by E. Nilson (1721-1788).

phico-religious writings subjected him to numerous persecutions, till the noble Danish minister, Count Bernstorff (the elder), took up his cause, and secured him, through a pension, an existence free from care. Inspired, like so many eminent Germans of his time, by the works of Rousseau, Basedow devoted himself to the education

of youth, which he sought to emancipate from its slavishness and mechanical spirit, and to base upon the cultivation of the natural powers of the body and intellect. From the extravagances of the gifted Genevese he was entirely free. The prominence given to object lessons, and to the development of the power of thinking, as well as to the introduction of bodily exercises, form the leading features in Basedow's work. Through him, mildness and a friendly feeling were ushered into the schoolroom and family. On the other hand, Basedow's system was not free from flat utilitarianism and from hostility to everything ideal. As a practical teacher he was less successful. The model school that Prince Francis Leopold of Dessau enabled him to found and conduct under the name of the "Philantropin" was far from successful. Nevertheless, this failure did not hinder his principles from working with effect on wider and wider circles. When teachers, imbued with the true spirit of classical antiquity, left the philological seminaries of Heyne and Friedrich August Wolf in Göttingen and Halle, better methods of teaching were gradually disseminated throughout Germany.

Rationalism, even in the Catholic parts of the empire, made increasing progress. Against the author of "Febronius" (see p. 502) — von Hontheim, suffragan bishop of Treves — Pope Clement XIII. had not ventured to proceed by direct penal measures, but only by lodging general complaints with his metropolitan, the Elector Clement Wenceslaus of Treves. Hontheim not only retained his position and dignities, but was bold enough to defend his work, and enlarge it by explanatory illustrations and other additions, so little was the influence which the Holy Father then possessed in the extra-Italian provinces of the church. Fifteen years later (1778), indeed, Pius VI. was successful in inducing von Hontheim to make a sort of recantation, but this was very conditional and superficial. The pious Maria Theresa did not suffer it to be published in her states, while she permitted the reading of "Febronius." Kaunitz said to a Roman prelate that Hontheim had, indeed, in a way, disavowed his book, but he had not refuted it. The most eminent canonists of the University of Vienna taught its principles officially, and the foremost spiritual princes openly avowed the philosophy inculcated in it.

The larger number of the spiritual princes, who were descendants of noble families, led, with their canons, an enjoyable life, enlivened with concerts, theatrical representations, and festivities, at which there was no lack of beautiful, but not over-moral ladies. In

Münster, an old police ordinance had to be revived in 1740, forbidding the spiritual magnates from carrying their concubines to marriage-banquets. In the government of their states, the episcopal rulers of the land favored the 'enlightenment' in so far as it was not incompatible with their own position. Maximilian Frederick, of Cologne and Münster, intrusted the administration of his Westphalian diocese entirely to the prebendary, Franz von Fürstenberg, one of the noblest and most liberal-minded statesmen of his time, whose opinions went far beyond the mechanical-materialistic views of enlightened absolutism, and who, above all, was intent on the promotion of the moral power of the people. He took the liveliest interest in education, as well in the common as in the higher branches. In regard to the former he brought the principles of Rousseau and Basedow into realization; for the latter he founded a university in Münster, endowing it with the property of an abolished nunnery. After the example of Count William of Lippe, he planned the introduction of a militia. No less meritorious were the labors of Franz Ludwig von Erthal, bishop of Würzburg and Bamberg, who, with unwearied zeal and great practical insight, organized the poor-laws and common-school system of his two principalities. In the University of Würzburg he manifested the liveliest interest, promoting in it the study of the political and the natural sciences, and exhorting the professors to diligence in their calling. In regard to criminal cases he abolished torture and capital punishment. In every way, indeed, he labored for the welfare of his subjects, fulfilling at the same time his episcopal duties with no less fidelity.

Of spiritual responsibility the three Rhenish archbishops of the expiring eighteenth century had no conception. The elector of Mayence, Emmerich Joseph von Breidenbach, introduced in 1772 the Basedow system into his lower schools. His successor, Frederick Charles Joseph von Erthal, had as little hesitation as Fürstenberg in Münster in abolishing several monasteries in order to devote their incomes to the revival of the entirely decayed University of Mayence (1782). Among the professors called by him were several Protestants, and even the chair of history was intrusted to a man of this faith. Archbishop Erthal forbade all controversial preaching, and sometimes invited Protestant clergymen to his table. Karl von Dalberg, his deputy in Erfurt, worked entirely in the spirit of the 'enlightenment,' reviving the academy of this city, and regenerating its university, in which there was a Catholic faculty and also a Protes-

tant one. In Treves, Clement Wenceslaus, although personally inclined to conservatism, left the secular administration entirely to Priy Councillor de la Roche, an outspoken enemy of monasticism and a friend of the 'enlightenment.' He constructed highways, sought to advance the industries and the agriculture of the country, and in 1783 published an 'edict of toleration' inviting Protestants to the country. "because, on the one hand, our holy religion is made more venerable through the removal of every vestige of persecution, and, on the other, the settlement of rich merchants and manufacturers promotes commerce, sets idle mendicants to work, and brings foreign wealth into the country." Meanwhile, the elector entertained himself with science and art, erected elegant structures, and celebrated festivities whose brilliancy reminded one of a royal court.

Maximilian Francis, the elector of Cologne (1784-1801), was trained in the school of his brothers, Joseph II. and Leopold of Tuscany. He regarded himself as the first servant in the state, was accessible to all his subjects without regard to class, and filled all offices only after strict examination. In the year 1786 he opened a new university at Bonn, an institution the spirit of which was in strong contrast to the old clerical university of Cologne. In like spirit he most zealously promoted elementary education. The whole archbishopric rejoiced in its brave, just, and mild elector.

At this time Archbishop Jerome of Salzburg issued, in the neighborhood of the Austria of Joseph, a pastoral letter, in which he depicted a religion, purged from all the excrescences and additions of the Middle Ages, as the genuine Catholicism, and earnestly recommended the reading of the Bible in the German translation as well as the use of German hymns. Already men hoped for a peaceful revolution in the bosom of the German Catholicism that would fuse it with Protestantism into one single enlightened church.

In the strongly clerical Bavaria rationalism called forth a notable movement. The Elector Charles Theodore let himself be completely ruled by ex-Jesuits, particularly by his father confessor Frank, who conducted the government all but absolutely, while the ruler led a life of wild debauchery. The court establishment, where the prince's personal suite and other servants comprised 1450 persons, demanded every year no less than 1,500,000 florins. The officials bore a bad name through the whole empire as venal judges, dishonest administrators of the finances, and tyrannical fleecers of the peasants. The citizens and peasantry had, besides the 11,000,000

florins of state taxes, to bear the burden of supporting the secular clergy and the mendicant orders, which cost them millions more. Posing as freethinkers and Voltairians, the nobility were still filled with superstition and sectarian hate. Imperious and overbearing to all beneath them, but servile and cowardly to those above them, they squandered in frivolous dissipation the means for which they had sacrificed their conscience, and too frequently the honor of their female relatives. Such was the character that the typical courtier developed in the brilliant courts of South Germany, and to such men were the administration of the country and the leading of its armies commonly intrusted. The numerous rural nobles of Bavaria lived in a state of semi-barbarism, ignorance, and bigotry. The number of the officials was legion; and all offices had quite openly become — so far as a regard to the prerogatives of the nobility allowed it — subject to purchase. Besides this, Bavaria was hermetically sealed against the culture of western and northern Germany. Of foreign printed matter an excessively severe censorship permitted the admission only of immoral French novels; in the country itself there were printed nothing but prayer- and school-books, spiritual tracts, and histories of robbers. The pulpit was the only agency that might have elevated the Bavarian people above their brutally coarse style of living, but the clergy themselves had not advanced beyond the merest elementary branches of learning. For these reasons the Old Bavarians and the natives of the Upper Palatinate were the most superstitious, intolerant, and narrow-minded of all the peoples of Germany. Citizens and peasants alike were immersed in an intellectual lethargy almost incredible, and stared about them with eyes scarcely more intelligent than those of animals, and were indifferent to everything which had no relation to the coarsest gratification of the senses and their meaningless church ceremonials. Not only did the people decay in industry and prosperity, but they also diminished in numbers.

These pernicious consequences of the influence of the ex-Jesuits, certain individuals, inspired by the ‘enlightenment,’ resolved to combat, by instituting a secret alliance with the directly opposite tendency. The secret and mysterious was then the fashion, as the natural reaction against the superficial and barren spirit of unbelief. We make special mention only of the mystic Rosicrucians, who fancied themselves in possession of the philosopher’s stone, and the most profound secrets of God and nature; of Mesmer, the dis-

coverer of sympathetic magnetism : of the Count of St. Germain, who boasted that he could prepare the elixir of life, and live for many hundreds of years ; of Balsamo, who, as Count Cagliostro, filled all Europe with the fame of his magic arts ; and of Emanuel Swedenborg (died 1772), who discovered in the Revelation of St. John a new theosophical system, explaining the nature of the spiritual world, and intimately associated with human life. All these found numberless believers. This tendency took possession of Adam Weishaupt, professor of canon-law in Ingolstadt. In the year 1776 he founded a secret alliance of students, under the name of the 'Order of the Illuminati.' He soon decided to give this order a higher character and wider range, by making its object the transferring of all power in church and state from the hands of the ignorant and selfish, and placing it in those of the intelligent and well-meaning. The Good was ultimately to attain supremacy upon earth. In order to be able to carry out so high a mission in the face of the probable hostility of the temporal powers, the order of the 'Illuminati' received an organization in some measure typical of that of the Jesuits. The most rigid obedience to their unknown superiors was the highest duty of the 'Illuminati.' The duty of combating the division of mankind into positive religious creeds and different states, as the greatest of evils, constituted the main dogma of the highest degree. The leaders were able, through great adroitness, to win over reputable and influential men to the order, that after a few years numbered thousands of members, almost all from the higher ranks of society. Unfortunately it soon became evident that the majority of the members aimed at using the order not so much for the general good as for making it the means of advancing themselves in political or commercial life. Soon every one wished to command, no one to obey. Disputes and bickerings within the society induced the Bavarian government, in 1784, to prohibit all secret societies ; and, as the 'Illuminati' paid no attention to this, it put them under a sort of persecution, which Weishaupt evaded by speedy flight to Gotha, while several of his colleagues were subjected to imprisonment. Hereupon the order of the 'Illuminati' dissolved of its own accord, and the ecclesiastical reaction in Bavaria became more powerful than ever.

In happy contrast to the bigoted doings of the Wittelsbach, and the tyrannical conduct of Charles Eugene in Würtemberg, was the attitude of the third great South German territory, the mar-

graviate of Baden. For a long time this land had been divided between the two lines of Durlach and Baden-Baden. In 1771, when the latter house became extinct, it was reunited. The ruler at this time was the Margrave Charles Frederick, one of the noblest and most enlightened princes of his time; a man of learning, and the patron of science and art; a true father to his people, who through his exemplary administration rescued his land from imminent financial ruin; and, favored by the fertility of its soil as well as by the natural intelligence and industry of the inhabitants, raised it again to prosperity. In 1767 he abolished torture, and in 1783 serfdom, thereby sacrificing 40,000 florins of yearly income.

Considerable stretches of land in both southern and western Germany still lay under the rule of knights who held immediately of the empire. These were more than a thousand in number. They called one whole village, or a half, or the third of a village, their own, and yet were subject to no man except the emperor, remote and impotent in so far as they were concerned. They stood, indeed, quite outside of the federal union of the empire, in whose needs they took little interest, and in whose assemblies they took no part. At most they had, in time of need, to make to the emperor voluntary grants. The larger number of them abused their 'sovereign' power for the oppression and taxation of their tenants. With a few notable exceptions — like Stein, Breidbach, and others — the great majority led coarse and dissolute lives, and were impediments to intercourse and commerce, order and security, in south-western Germany. Still more dangerous, as lording it over somewhat more extensive domains, were the counts of the empire, and the petty princes of southern and western Germany. Of any conception of their supreme political duties the rulers of these miniature states were entirely devoid. In these 'patriarchal' tyrannies there prevailed poverty, disorder, moral and intellectual barbarism, with utter insecurity for property and life. These petty despots were guilty of the basest infamies, so that the imperial tribunals occasionally had to intervene. The last count of Leiningen-Guntersblum, and a count of Wolfegg-Waldsee, were deprived of their power, and shut up in fortresses, on account of frauds, outrages, and infamies of all sorts. With the greater princes these *Reichsgrafen* and *Reichsritter* were constantly at strife; and little as was the aid they lent the emperor, he yet protected them, because they broke up the territories of the stronger dynasties, and so weakened and disturbed their sov-

ereign authority. How was prosperity to come out of such conditions?

Matters were no better with the *Reichstädte*, the cities immediately subject to the empire, which were still fifty-one in number. While men here carefully protected the ancient forms of the constitution, their ancestral spirit had long vanished, and been replaced, in the case of the mass of the people, by a narrow-hearted and contracted philistinism. In place of the old warlike courage and spirit of freedom, there had now come a timid craving for peace. Of all the pitiful armies of the empire, the city contingents constituted the most wretched element. Poverty, weakness, and corruption were now, with the exception of Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort, the characteristics of all the cities of the empire, whose estates had been brought to the verge of bankruptcy through selfishness and nepotism, while their financial and judicial administrations were the most miserable conceivable. As compared with them, the aspiring capitals developed a brilliant life in affluence and intellectual activity.

The centre of gravity of German life had long lain in the greater territories, especially in the Protestant ones.

Electoral Saxony had, through reversion of the land of the former collateral lines of Weissenfels and Merseburg, been much enlarged. But the country suffered without remission through the consequences of the Seven Years' War. However, after the sudden death of the dissipated Augustus III., the princes of the land did all in their power to regenerate the electorate; and it stood them in good stead that it was freed from the wasteful pomp of the Polish crown. The Elector Frederick Christian, who died after a rule of a few months, and his brother, Prince Xaver, who conducted the regency for the former's minor son, Frederick Augustus III., labored with zeal and self-denial for the welfare of the land and people. By reducing the number of the army to the utmost, and considerably lessening the expenses of the court, they were able, without increasing the taxes, to pay the interest on the state debt, and to effect its partial redemption. In 1771 torture disappeared from the Saxon penal code. Manufactures and commerce were promoted in the most painstaking manner, and soon Saxon industry again became the most highly developed and flourishing in Germany.

Among the other great Protestant territories, there were prominent the two Hessian landgraviates, and especially that of Cassel.

Frederick II. (to 1785) showed in full measure the obstinate, insolent, and tyrannical disposition which was peculiar to the posterity of Philip the Magnanimous. He availed himself of every method of making money, partly through straining the taxable strength of the people to the extreme, partly through the brisk trade in soldiers that he conducted on a still greater scale than Charles Eugene of Würtemberg. His successor, William IX., was still more despotic, and repressed every movement in favor of freedom, and still further augmented the number of his troops.

Much milder was the rule in the landgraviate of Hesse-Darmstadt. Besides the hitherto exclusively tolerated Lutheranism, Louis IX. (to 1790) guaranteed full religious freedom to the Reformed Church also. Through his economical and discreet administration, this prince reduced the considerable burden of debts pressing upon his land. But, in bringing this about, he so little resembled his cousin of Cassel, that, notwithstanding the high sums offered him, he, with noble constancy, refused to engage in the sale of his subjects. He materially improved the position of the peasants, and mitigated their lot everywhere. Admirable highways — then rarities in Germany — were of the highest service for traffic. Learned men and artists found a friendly reception at his court. Only with Friedrich Karl von Moser, the self-willed prince could not agree; and he expelled him, though he had been for eight years his first minister.

Hanover, which in its some 17,000 square miles of territory numbered scarcely 800,000 inhabitants, who contributed 3,000,000 thalers yearly to the state, remained, in its external relations, completely bound to England. Otherwise, it was administered by a separate native government which acted with entire discretion. Inasmuch as it had to dispense with the guidance of its native princes, it introduced as few innovations as possible. Of great importance became the University of Göttingen, which had been founded mainly with the view of its providing a firm, scientific foundation for the rights of the estates of the empire, as against the claims of the imperial court. It had, in August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735–1809), the most highly esteemed teacher of political economy in Germany. His “Correspondence, Mostly of a Historical and a Political Character,” which appeared from 1772 till 1782, and his “State Notes” (1782–1792), handled the political affairs of the time with freedom and effect. In these works, indeed, he did not venture

to deal with the greater princes. Otherwise, however, and especially as regarded the smaller territories, they acted as scourges for official caprice and arbitrariness, as well as for the underhand policy of cabinets. Schlözer was the true precursor of the historians of later times, of a Rotteck, a Welcker, a Schlosser, and a Dahlman. The American, and, later, the French Revolution aroused Schlözer's lively indignation. He was distinguished from his successors in that he did not have the national German point of view, any more than did Dohm, Mauvillon, and other German publicists of his time.

Schlözer was, besides, as a historian, of solid and lasting importance, working at first on the histories of Scandinavia and Russia, and then on the history of the world in general. He elevated German historiography from being a bare catalogue of fact to a truly consistent science, proceeding on fixed principles, and having well-defined aims. Although his style leaves much to be desired, and his criticism is very defective, he exercised, through his truly historical sense of the interdependence of things, the best effect on German historiography. To all this is to be added Schlözer's labors as a university professor, in which capacity he was an agent of inspiration in many directions.

One of Schlözer's pupils was the Swiss historian, Johannes Müller (1752-1809), whose fame rests almost exclusively on his "History of the Swiss Confederation;" he was at that time vastly overrated. He gave himself the air of being a profound student of original sources, while later investigations have discovered him to be defective and inaccurate beyond measure. Certain really beautiful characterizations and descriptions are not, indeed, to be denied to the "History of Switzerland;" but on the whole, its influence was prejudicial rather than beneficial. Summoned to the Academy of Sciences of Berlin, he, 'the free Swiss,' took the field in favor of the absolute monarchy of Frederick the Great, and of the union of the German princes under Frederick's guidance. Later, he varied his subjects in the most surprising manner, employing his facile pen in depicting Austrian, German, or Napoleonic affairs, according as these subjects seemed to promise him profit and power.

Less renowned, but more effective, than Müller, was Ludwig Timotheus Spittler (1752-1810). Impressed by the constitutional conflict in Würtemberg, in the time of Charles Eugene, he was the first historical writer in the German language who, besides giving the political history, depicted the domestic condition and the constitu-

tional development of the peoples. This epoch-making expansion in historiography he inaugurated mainly by his histories of Würtemberg and Hanover. Besides these he was the author of a sketch of the Christian church, regarded, for the first time in Germany, not from the theological, but from a historical point of view. Of his numerous disciples the most renowned were the historians Heeren and Schlosser, and the jurists Savigny and Hugo.

But it was not politics and history alone that flourished in Göttingen. Here labored for half a century the great philologist Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812). Heyne possessed neither creative genius nor profound learning; but his eye ranged with a sure and clear glance over a domain of astonishing extent, enabling him through the accentuation of the aesthetically beautiful to overstep the bounds of the purely grammatical and antiquarian manner of treating philology, and, by combining this with archaeology, to lay the foundation for a scientific knowledge of antiquity. Heyne first taught how to observe the Greek and Roman worlds in their most varied aspects. Among his disciples, the most distinguished was Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824), who gave its settled form to the revived science of antiquity through his systematic and encyclopaedic method of treating it. Carried away by the liveliest enthusiasm for the creations of the antique intellect, he knew how to inspire the hosts of his students in Halle — where he worked during the most productive period of his life — with his own ideal conception of them. In his famous *Prolegomena ad Homerum* he furnished the model of a philological criticism at once elegant, comprehensive, and profound.

The union of a lively and animated literary spirit with true, deep scholarship, made its appearance in the domain of the natural sciences also. No one represents this combination so admirably as Georg Forster (1754–1794). Along with his father — who had settled in England — he accompanied the renowned navigator, Captain Cook, upon his second great voyage, which he describes in a masterly way, with the true poetic glow of sentiment and classic beauty of style. He was afterwards employed, in succession, as teacher of the natural sciences in the Ritterakademie in Cassel, as professor in the University of Vilna, and as librarian to the elector of Mayence. His numerous smaller botanical, physiological, and ethnographical treatises combine the power of keen observation with that of happy presentation. The great and unfortunate change in

Forster's life, when from an investigator of nature he became a politician, to his own public and domestic misery and early death, belongs to a later period.

Up to this time the natural sciences had received no special attention in Germany; but now there arose a succession of pioneer spirits, who co-operated to secure for Germany a pre-eminent place in this domain also. A German was the originator of the science of geology, namely, Werner, who was also the teacher of Alexander von Humboldt. Blumenbach created comparative anatomy, in which he gained European renown through his anatomical and physiological writings. A succession of able men of the second rank contributed to make Germany's share in the great work of culture increasingly prominent in every department.

Nevertheless, even in this respect Germany suffered from her disintegration. Every prince, petty or otherwise, would have his own university, so that the number of these institutions soon became so excessive that not one of them could attain importance. To the already existing universities there were added, besides the Hanoverian institution of Göttingen, that of Bayreuth at Erlangen, and that of electoral Cologne at Bonn: but only the first was in a flourishing condition. There were no fewer than 33 German universities, with 1350 teachers and 9300 students, so that the general average was only 40 teachers and 280 students respectively. The University of Leipsic was most numerously attended, its students numbering 1200; then, in decreasing ratio, came Halle, Jena, and Göttingen, with their 750 each, till we reach such institutions as those at Duisburg, Rinteln, Erfurt, and others with their few dozens. Leipsic had the largest staff of professors, 104; then came Göttingen, Jena, and Halle, with their 58.

Important as the place was which Germany secured by her science, this was still secondary to that attained by her through the brilliant development of her poetical literature.

Rousseau's voice, calling on the world to revert to nature and man's primitive state, struck on the quick ear of the German world of the second half of the eighteenth century. But from men aglow with such aspirations, everywhere coming into collision with the discouraging restraints of conventionality and unnatural conditions generally, there arose a 'period of storm and stress' which, in the case of a united and politically sensitive people, might have ended in revolution, but which, in that of the Germans of the period,



FIG. 62. — Goethe in 1776. From a copper-plate engraving by Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-1801) ; original drawing, Weimar 1776, by G. M. Kraus (1737-1806).

resulted only in a revolt of the intellect. Everywhere there were ferment and ebullition foaming over the narrow bounds of tradition. Friedrich von Stolberg made the twentieth century trample underfoot the thrones of tyrants, and, with bloody hands, pour forth the

stream of freedom over Germany. Schubart, too, in his youth, was afire for the republic. That freedom which men had learned to appreciate in classical antiquity, and the license of the primitive and mediaeval Germans, were now to be revived. The present was thoroughly base. In such sentiments Goethe's earliest greater works — "Götz von Berlichingen" (1773), "Clavigo" (1774), "The Sorrows of Young Werther" (also 1774), and the outlines of "Faust" and "Egmont" — had their origin. What he then published gained for the young poet extraordinary fame throughout all Germany. "Werther," as being most in harmony with the spirit of the age, made him illustrious and renowned throughout all Europe. In 1775 Goethe (Fig. 62) came to the court of the excellent Charles Augustus of Weimar, and, rejoicing in the freshness and vigor of youth, lived for a time in wantonness. But in the earnest labors of administrative life, to which Goethe, as the first official of the little commonwealth, had to submit, his nature cleared and deepened itself. His ministerial position led him to a closer study of the natural sciences. In this, his transition period, he at first found time for only smaller poetical effusions, a few scattered lyrics and epics. But he soon formulated greater plans. That he had passed through the 'period of storm and stress' without being essentially affected by it, is shown by the classical beauty of his "Iphigenie," published in 1779. Goethe's youthful works moved a great number of young poets to imitation. These imitators are now mostly forgotten, or known only by name, — like Lenz, who believed himself to be Goethe's equal, and went to ruin through his foolish vanity. The only man of any consequence among them was Maximilian Klinger, who strove to create the political comedy for Germany as a means of arousing the people. In this, however, he succeeded only in a moderate degree, his dramas suggesting the frenzied outcries of a lunatic.

About this time — that is, in the beginning of the seventies — a number of young poets in Göttingen established the *Hainbund* (the 'Society of the Grove'), to which Hölty, Bürger, Fritz Stollberg, Voss, and Claudius belonged, and whose members inserted their productions in the *Musen Almanach*. Although the members chose Klopstock as their patron, their lyrics were much more popular than his. Furnished with appropriate and easily sung airs, their songs made their way among the people, and became their abiding heritage. The most genuine poetic nature amongst the members of the *Hain-*

bund was Bürger, whose better ballads faithfully rendered the mystic and yet proudly aspiring spirit of the epoch, and whose lyrics exhibit unsurpassing fire and tenderness in combination with melody and polish of versification. Unfortunately, impassioned heart struggles, from which Bürger did not come forth without deep blame, as well as his sad outward lot, destroyed, prematurely, the bloom and vigor of his genius. Voss was known mainly through his admirable translation of Homer (1777-1793), by which this unrivalled ideal of epic poetry was made known for the first time, not only to the people generally, but even to the most cultured class, and the hexameter introduced into German poetry. Voss's original idylls found immediate popularity, but have failed to maintain their place permanently.

More than Klinger did Leisewitz advance German tragedy, through his *Julius von Tarent*; for he based it, for the first time, upon the truly tragical element of fatal crime, and thus gave it its true and deep meaning. Unfortunately the form shows much of the poetical crudeness of the 'period of storm and stress'; but, nevertheless, *Julius von Tarent* exercised great influence on the youthful dramas of Schiller. There was no poet of that time so thoroughly revolutionary in sentiment, so glowing with hatred of tyrants, so filled with enthusiasm for freedom, as Friedrich Schiller. The whole conventional society of the century, broken up as it was into castes and classes, declared war upon his "Robbers." "*Fiesco*" celebrates the victory of republicanism over base, self-seeking ambition. *Kabale und Liebe* shows the immediate application of the "Robbers" to the time and place wherein Schiller spent his youth. One may judge as one pleases of the dramatic worth of the "Robbers" and *Kabale und Liebe*; but, politically, they are of the highest importance as indicating the sentiments of the various strata of society, as well as for the effect they produced on these. The deep bitterness shown in Schiller's first dramas is also reflected in his earliest poems, as in his "Songs to Laura," his *Männerwürde*, his *Kindesmörderin*, etc. The friendship of the elder Körner secured for the poet a standing in Leipsic (1785), and thereafter in Dresden, which imbued him with purer and more genial sentiments, as well as with a stronger feeling of self-confidence. He now produced his "Don Carlos," whose special hero is the Marquis of Posa, a discreet, temperate, but by no means chimerical, idealist. The rhymed form of these great tragedies show the poet's breach with

his youthful, crude strivings after naturalness. The *Geisterscher*, a novel outlined in 1786, and directed against secret combinations and the Jesuit propaganda, shows, in an admirable way, how deeply Schiller (Fig. 63) always interested himself in the great political tendencies and events of his own time.

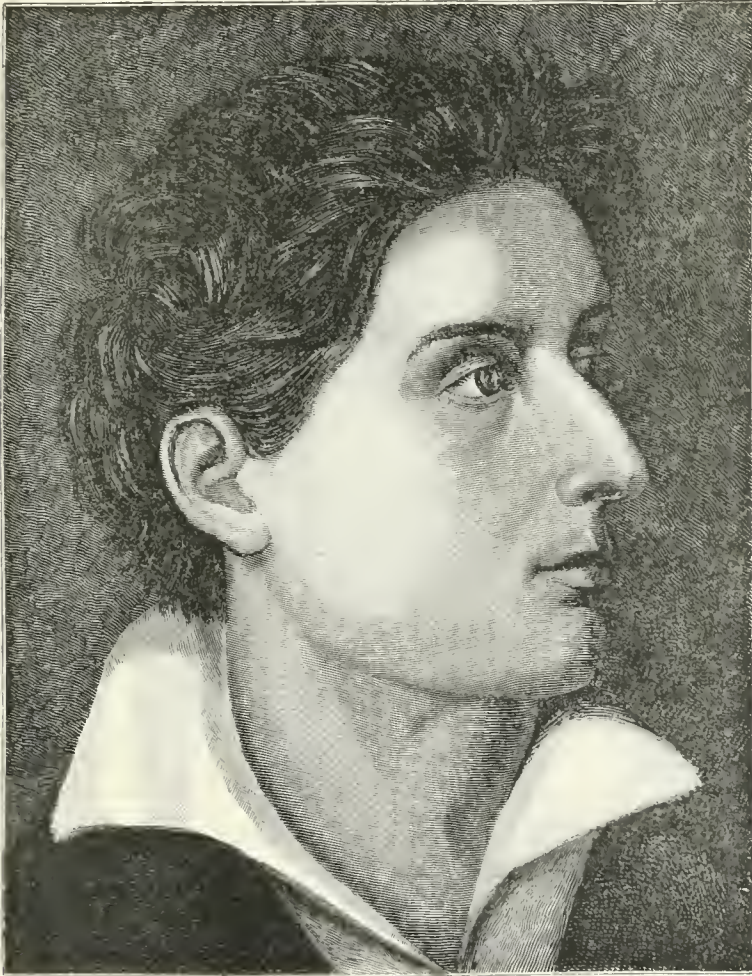


FIG. 63. — Schiller in 1781. From the portrait painted by Johann Heinrich Tischbein, in Stuttgart, at the end of 1781 or the beginning of 1782. (In the possession of Dr. Schmidt, in Cassel.)

Kant, the great reformer of philosophy, exercised the most essential influence on Schiller, as well as upon the whole course of German intellectual life. From him not only does the new epoch

of philosophy take its rise, but, in a great measure, the whole manner of thought of the new Germany. The predominance of pure and rational criticism, a firm foundation for morality, the attainment of a noble and temperate ideal,—for all this Germany has to thank this profound and glorious intellect. The influence of Kant is, therefore, of pre-eminent historical importance, and reaches far beyond the quantitatively narrow bounds of the effect produced by his purely philosophico-scientific labors.

Up to this time philosophy had pronounced dogmatically upon the weightiest questions affecting our being, without investigating the basis of its decision,—reason in itself, or pure reason (*reine Vernunft*) as Kant terms it. It had, indeed, observed the external forms of our manner of thinking; but the essential nature of the reason it had not undertaken to investigate thoroughly. It was Kant who set out to show the possibility of pure deductive knowledge and the laws necessarily limiting it.

Late as it was before Kant found recognition in his native city of Königsberg, he remained constant to it, and declined all invitations to other places, however alluring. A lively feeling of personal independence was united in him with almost pedantically strict adherence to law. He was an excellent patriot, and especially enthusiastic for Frederick II., who never knew anything of the profound thinker. Nevertheless, Kant, later, fully recognized the justification for the French Revolution, and, prophet-like, foretold its propitious effects, without, however, approving its excesses.

It is a notable fact that the whole German philosophy of the eighteenth century stands in close relation with that state which was destined to be the founder of the new Germany,—namely, Prussia. Leibnitz was a frequent and welcome guest at the Prussian court, and became the founder of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. Christian Wolf developed his popular philosophy while occupying a chair of a Prussian university. Kant spent his whole life in the original seat of the Prussian monarchy, and his own development was closely connected with the leading events of Prussian history.

The increased profundity and insight of the German spirit, its striving after truth, and the current of original creative power which appeared in German poetry and philosophy, showed themselves with powerful effect in the fine arts also, and, first of all, in music. The period of German classic poetry is also that of classical German music, when it extended its sway over the whole civilized world.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart is recognized as the great master, who with one stroke, as it were, elevated his art far above the frivolities of the Italian opera. Mozart has been justly compared with Raphael, not only in regard to the delightful and pure harmony of his pieces, and the entrancing beauty which every subject assumed under his hand, but also for his precocious ripeness and the short duration of his life. Born at Salzburg in 1756, Mozart died in 1791, two years younger than the great painter of Urbino, happily not until he had enriched the world with a great profusion of his gifted productions. Mozart was permitted to know the young giant who was destined to elevate music to a point of eminence hitherto unattained, — namely, Ludwig van Beethoven, who, born in the year 1770, belongs to this epoch, at least in the years of his development.

Not until later did the new influence extend to the plastic arts. In painting it was first shown in Jakob Asmus Carstens, born near Schleswig. He restored to German painting grandeur of composition and the union of classical beauty with vivid naturalness. The unfavorable circumstances of his life, as well as envy and jealousy on the part of inferior contemporaries, tended much to impede, if not his artistic development, at least his artistic productiveness.

German manufactures and commerce, favored by the long unbroken peace from 1763 to 1792, also made advances. Linen-weaving and cloth-manufacture were then relatively more important than now. Cotton manufacture maintained a rank immediately after the English. The fabrication of steel was carried on most successfully. The porcelains of Berlin, and especially of Meissen, were famed over all the world, and largely exported. Order was at last brought into the financial relations of the states. In Austria and southern Germany the so-called 'convention standard' prevailed, viz., that of twenty florins to the silver mark; in western Germany that of twenty-four florins; while Brandenburg-Prussia possessed its own standard, which was then recognized throughout all Germany, namely, twenty-one florins, or fourteen thalers, to the mark. Political interest became, especially from the seventies, of vastly greater importance. Numerous periodicals had their origin then, which occupied themselves with political and social questions, such as Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, Meiner and Spittler's *Göttingisches historisches Magazin*, J. A. Reuss's *Staatskanzlei*, Wieland's *Teutscher Merkur*, etc. The works of Montesquieu and Rousseau, the American Revolutionary War, and the study of the ancient republics, then

much in favor, all contributed to mould opinion. Poets and politicians vied with each other in denouncing the arbitrary caprices of the rulers, the abuses practised by officials, and the excessive privileges of the nobility. Every one indulged in enthusiasm over the theories of freedom and equality, and sometimes wept bitter, but easily dried, tears, that such views had no prospect of being realized in Germany. The endless disintegration of Germany, and the sharp antagonism of interests between the Protestant and Catholic states, the secular and spiritual, the principalities and the imperial cities, told in favor of freedom of the press. Certain classes constituted themselves direct protectors of it. Much solid and well-considered matter was published, by which temperate views in regard to freedom found admission to the minds of princes and high state servants.

The rulers of the two great German states, Joseph II. and Frederick of Prussia, cannot be declared free from the reproach of having had no eye for such a promising development of the German national spirit. Instead of promoting the intellectual interests of the nation, instead of rendering the empire once more popular, and therefore influential, and instead of allying Austria with the empire through the adoption of a moderate free-trade policy, Joseph II. pursued a narrow-minded, particularistic, anti-German policy, and sought to aggrandize his hereditary lands through foreign acquisitions. Through the acceptance and exaggeration of the Prussian customs system, he closed his lands commercially as effectually against non-Austrian Germany as they were closed spiritually and intellectually, through his inexorable censorship, against political and religious independence in any form. All patriotically minded men he thus, against his will, directed to Prussia as the sole possible point of unification.

After the death of Maria Theresa the emperor's piratical policy made itself felt with double effect in the empire. With all his energy he labored to wrest the great sees of Cologne and Münster from the house of Bavaria, to which they had belonged for two centuries; while he exerted himself to secure the election of his youngest brother, the Archduke Maximilian, as coadjutor in the dioceses, hoping thereby to confirm Austrian influence in north-western Germany as well as in the Electoral College. Frederick II.'s efforts to check Joseph's arrogant purposes diplomatically were futile; for he declined to promise armed support to the anti-Austrian

party in the two dioceses, so that they had nothing to do but submit. For other princes of the Lorraine-Hapsburg house other principalities were secured through promises and gold. When Joseph, in 1783, arbitrarily separated the Austrian portion of the diocese of Passau from the rest of the bishopric, the spiritual princes joined with the Protestant ones in opposing him. The complaints raised by the pope against Joseph's efforts for ecclesiastical reform contributed still further to drive the spiritual princes, hitherto the staunchest supporters of the House of Hapsburg, into the arms of the opposition. Frederick II. saw with great satisfaction the turn which things had taken, and which he hoped to improve in favor of Prussian hegemony in Germany.

The Margrave Charles Frederick of Baden, and his minister Edelsheim, first conceived the idea (1783) of a union of princes to resist the Austrian schemes, which was to look for support either to France or Prussia. At the Potsdam court it was especially the king's nephew, Frederick William, Prince of Prussia, and presumptive heir to the throne, who promoted such a confederation; while Charles Augustus of Weimar and the elector of Mayence took great interest in the project. Frederick II. was equally favorable to it, but he judged the time had not come for him to intervene in its favor.

In point of fact, the majority of the German princes were in no way ready for carrying out the union; a part of them rather favoring the idea of a separate confederation of the second-rate and smaller states, exclusive of Austria and Prussia. This would naturally look to France for support.

Joseph II. contemplated making use of the friendship of Russia for the final carrying out of his favorite scheme; namely, the exchange of the remote and burdensome Belgium for the more convenient Bavaria. The Elector Charles Theodore, who had grown up in the Austrian Netherlands, captivated by the promised title of a Burgundian king, was easily won over to the scheme. The main difficulty was to gain the assent of the nearest heir to the childless Charles Theodore, Charles II. of Zweibrücken, who was at the time entirely alienated from the imperial court.

This project increased to the highest degree the fear of all Germany for the emperor's power. It seemed clear, as a South German minister expressed it, that Austria, after the occupation of Bavaria, would not be able to resist the temptation to incorporate all the

South German bishoprics and all the imperial cities, and that these acquisitions, united with Hither Austria, the Tyrol, and Lombardy, would bring an overpowering pressure to bear upon the other states on the left of the Main. Frederick II., especially, meant to prevent such thralldom of Germany, and, with this end, made up his mind that it was necessary to draw Prussia out of her state of isolation. The general situation seemed to him much more favorable for this than it had been two years previous, and the czarina was much less to be dreaded. In October, 1784, he himself sketched a project for a League of the German Princes (*Fürstenbund*), on the type of that of Smalcald, of 1531, in which all the princes, spiritual as well as secular, the Catholic as well as Protestant, should be united to prevent the emperor from totally subverting the German constitution. Frederick was especially gratified that the duke of Zweibrücken not only fully renounced his assent to the Austrian schemes, but directly called on Prussia for protection against them. In this way Frederick gained the help of the princes for his resistance to the Russo-Austrian policy of predominance and violence.

He gained, too, the complete assent of the most powerful vassal of the empire, — the king of England in his character of elector of Hanover, — who regarded with high displeasure the emperor's purposed acquisition of the bishopric of Hildesheim for the Archduke Maximilian. In accordance with the advice of the Hanoverian statesmen, Prussia at first took steps for establishing a league of the three electoral states not immediately concerned, namely, Brandenburg, Hanover, and Saxony, to which as many princes as wished to do so could afterwards give in their adherence.

In June, 1785, the plenipotentiaries of the three states met in Berlin, and the compact forming the basis of the League of the German Princes for the maintenance of the imperial system was formally signed. The articles published were of a purely defensive character, securing the rights of the estates of the empire and the terms of the imperial constitution; but in the secret articles the parties bound themselves to oppose, with 15,000 men each, every unrighteous exchange of land, as well as the secularization and dismemberment of the ecclesiastical foundations.

In vain the Viennese court tried to prevent the spread of the *Fürstenbund* by representing it as an unconstitutional infringement of the peace of the land, and to the Catholic estates especially as an attempt at a Protestant propaganda. As Vienna neither could nor

would disown the project of the Belgian-Bavarian exchange, such representations made but a small impression. The widely spread aversion to Prussia gave way before the dread of Austrian preponderance. With the exception of Würtemberg and Oldenburg, all the greater secular and many of the spiritual estates gave their adhesion to the League, that of Mayence bringing the majority in the Electoral College to the anti-Austrian side.

Austria had so far gained nothing from the alliance with Russia. On the other hand, Catharine had still further aggrandized herself, while Joseph's projects in regard to the Netherlands had miserably miscarried. In the empire Austria had become entirely isolated, and the hegemony had plainly passed over to Prussia. Frederick's policy had gained a brilliant victory, not only over Austria, but also over the influence of Russia and France in Germany. The German territories were united, without — as had hitherto always been the case — depending on any foreign power, while the centre of gravity of the empire was transferred from Vienna to Berlin. As Prussia now controlled a majority in the Electoral College, no decision could be arrived at by the diet without its consent. And now Frederick cherished the plan of setting up the League itself in the place of the empire, and of reconstituting Germany under the leadership of Prussia. He even indicated, in the draught prepared by him, that probably there would be no future election of an emperor, so that Germany might accomplish its reconstitution easily and without complications. This comprehensive and truly national standpoint was adopted with such decision by the veteran king, that he thoroughly renounced all thought of utilizing the League for the aggrandizement of Prussia. He would not in the least listen to the emperor's proposal that he should assent to Austria's incorporation of Bavaria, and compensate himself therefor at the cost of the neighboring small states. He rather contemplated the continued development of the League after his own death, and only unwillingly gave up the thought of a military convention with his neighbors, who, in consideration of pay, should embody their troops in the Prussian army.

The comparatively speedy death of Frederick did not permit the League of the German Princes to come into effect. It disappeared without having exercised any immediate influence upon the political situation. But the fact that Prussia had gathered the majority of the more powerful princes around her produced an instantaneous and

deep impression, and remained unforgotten. From that time Prussia's efforts for the union never entirely ceased, but were regarded by all ranks of the nation as a matter of course and inevitable.

Hostile as Joseph II. showed himself to the Prussian ruler, and loudly as he boasted of his alliances, Frederick had no fear of him; for Austria would have to choose between an alliance with France or Russia, as the two latter states were then at variance in regard to eastern and northern questions. Thus Prussia was always secure of the one or the other of these powers. For this reason the king found himself in a much freer and more agreeable situation than in the decade after the Seven Years' War. Frederick had become master of the situation. In point of fact, it appeared on every occasion that France antagonized the emperor's schemes of aggrandizement and exchange. On the contrary, all Europe approved the more moderate and peaceful, and yet more stable, policy of Frederick.

Frederick maintained equal reserve in regard to the complications in Holland, although the close proximity of the two lands, as well as the fact that the hereditary stadtholder, William V., was married to his niece, might have justified his intervention. William's weakness and perverse policy had again lent strength to the old aristocratic-particularist party, while, by the side of this, the effects of the American War of Independence had created a revolutionary-democratic party. Both factions coalesced into one single anti-Orange opposition, which assumed the high-sounding name of 'The Patriots,' and looked for support to France. Only with difficulty did William V. defend himself against his united enemies through seeking support from England, up to this time treated as a foe. But since Joseph's violent proceedings towards the republic, the influence of France had largely increased; and when in November, 1785, a compact of alliance between Holland and France was signed at Fontainebleau, the French, or 'Patriot,' party triumphed in the United Provinces. In vain did the stadtholder call repeatedly and earnestly on Frederick II. for help.

The evening of the king's life was lonely enough. Companions he had in abundance, but neither friend, relative, nor intimate who might have helped to cheer his last years. His estimate of men was low: and he treated them accordingly — for the most part derisively and contemptuously. His excellent officials, as the incomparable Brenckenhoff, the valiant minister von Domhardt, and many others,

had to experience bitter ingratitude, many of them dying in want. For the greatness and welfare of the whole country he strove indefatigably, but in individuals he no longer took an interest. Gout tormented him constantly. His relation to his wife was entirely dissolved, to which her irritability and want of tact contributed as much as his disregard of her. Her main source of income was the gaming-table. Her husband she saw only a few times a year, as on her birthdays and during the carnival, when he now and then dined with her, and appeared once or twice at her court. Notwithstanding her ardent wish to see Sans Souci, she was never allowed to come to Potsdam. Even when Frederick was sick, she was not permitted to visit him.

On the other hand, Frederick was a generous and loving brother, caring like a father for the younger members of his house. His affection for them is seen, not only from his numerous letters to them, but also from the relatively rich appanages with which he endowed them; but for all this he earned only ingratitude. Prince Henry went furthest in this respect. But the caprices and malevolence of his younger brothers Frederick bore with unshaken constancy, and was unwearied in his efforts to attach them to himself. The Seven Years' War they made no account of, ridiculing and scoffing incessantly at 'Phaeton' (as they called him), from whom they professed to expect the ruin of the dynasty and the state. It is marvellous that while all Europe was regarding Frederick's genius with amaze, his own family alone could not, or would not, understand him. Henry, especially, sought to foster a malignant opposition to him, both in the family and the court, and even among the body of officers. Henry erected an obelisk at Rheinsberg to the memory of the heroes of the war, on which the names of all the officers in any way distinguished, save those of Frederick himself and his favorite Winterfeldt, were displayed.

It has been maintained that Frederick allowed the heir to the throne, his nephew, Frederick William, to grow up in ignorance and without training in state affairs. Nothing could be more untrue. Practical and theoretical culture went hand in hand in his case, whether as a boy or a youth. He had the best teachers, enjoyed the counsels of the ablest state officials, and took part in the sittings of the General Directory and the highest courts of law. He was intrusted with the most important diplomatic missions, and accompanied the king in his meetings with Joseph II. It was not Frederick's fault that his nephew early manifested a disposition to

mental sloth and carelessness, and to a dissolute and wasteful extravagance, thereby falling out with the monarch. Here Frederick could not give way. The Prussian state, with its separate members so far apart, with its all but intolerable burden of taxation and military duty, and the unnatural place of power it occupied among so many far more extensive kingdoms, rested necessarily on the personal character of its ruler, and above all on his resolution to devote himself exclusively to the public welfare. That the future king entered on a path so entirely the opposite of this, must have filled Frederick's heart with vexation and justifiable anger.

Many of his other relatives and friends he saw depart before him, — as his sister, Ulrike of Sweden, his favorite nephew, Henry, brother of the Prince of Prussia; all of his literary intimates; his generals, — Seydlitz, Fouqué, and Zieten (PLATE XXI.). The fact that he bewailed these with bitter and honest tears, goes to show that his heart was not so stony as it was represented to be.

But sad and solitary as Frederick came to be, and unfavorable as his health became, he labored unweariedly till his last breath in the discharge of the duties of his high calling. When his body-physician, in 1781, counselled him to postpone or omit a journey to Prussia, he answered, "Doctor, you have your work to do: I have mine; and I will, till the last moment of my life, fulfil the duties of a king." In his observations on the Prussian administration of finances, issued in October, 1784, he again propounds a great government programme: "The state revenues must be held sacred, and in time of peace be exclusively devoted to promoting the welfare of the citizens; be it by reclaiming waste lands, by building up manufactures in the cities where such are wanting; be it, finally, by placing all our institutions on a more solid basis, and so rendering all our citizens, from the nobleman to the peasant, more prosperous and contented. If our state revenues are well administered, a part of them can every year be set aside to meet our war-expenses, and to relieve our poor people from the burden of taxation, with which an incapable sovereign would have to oppress them in times of war. Every prince who squanders these on his own pleasures and ill-considered munificence is less a sovereign than a highwayman, because he uses the gold — the heart's blood of his people — in useless, and often preposterous, expenditures." In the very year before his death, namely, in August, 1785, he was present on horseback, and in spite of most unfavorable weather, at the great manœuvres of his

Georg Wilhelm v. Probst, Lieut. and
Adj. of Gen. v. Zieten.

Carl Heinrich v. Eichstädt, Lieut. and
Adj. of Gen. v. Zieten

Franz Chr. Ludw. v. Zieten, son of Zieten,
Lieut. in the Reg. of his father.

Duke Frederick of Brunswick.

Joh. Fried. v. Lentz, Major of Zieten's
Reg. of Hussars.

Zieten.

Dietrich Gosvin v. Dolfs, Col. and Com-
mander of Gens d'Armes.

Prince Ferdinand, brother of the King.

Erich Magnus v. Wolfradt, Major and
Commander of Zieten's Hussar Reg.

The King.

Ludwig Friedrich v. Garten, Lieut. and
Adjutant of the Reg. of Woldeck

The Prince of Prussia.

Lewin Rudolf v. d. Schulenburg,
Major-Gen. and Minister of War

Joach. Bernh. v. Prittwitz, Maj.-Gen.
and Inspector of Cavalry.

Georg Fried. v. Tempelhof, Major of
Artillery.

Wichard Joach. Heinr. v. Möllendorf,
Lieut.-Gen. and Governor

Guard.

Georg Ernst von Holzendorff, Major-Gen. and
Chief of Artillery.

Carl Otto v. Wedel, Lieut. and Adj. of
the Reg. of Woldeck.

Heinrich Gottlob v. Braun, Lieut.-Gen.
and Commander.

Friedrich Wilhelm v. Wartenberg, Lieut.-
Gen.



In the audience-chamber of the Royal Palace at Berlin: Zieten sitting before Frederick the Great.

From an etching by Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-1801).



Frederick the Great in his Old Age.

From a copper-plate engraving (1787) by J. F. Bause (1738-1814); original painting by
Anton Graff (1736-1813).

History of All Nations, Vol. XV., page 299.

Silesian troops. On the last day but one of the review he, while suffering from gout and attacks of suffocation, sat for six hours in his saddle amid pouring rain, and without a cloak of any kind, observing the movements with keen attention. A month later indications of his approaching end made their appearance. As from this time forth the king awoke at a very early hour, he began his work each morning at four o'clock, while he maintained, at the same time, a regular literary correspondence with Baron Grimm.

The next months constituted a period of almost unbroken suffering. The constant fits of coughing made it impossible for him to lie down; and he sat on a couch, with his body bent forward as much as possible, his only relaxation being to have himself carried, for a short time, in warm weather, to the balcony. And yet this old man, doubled up with gout, extended his fatherly care and labor to the whole state, had strangers presented to him, and read Plutarch. The certainty of his approaching death had no terrors for him. From his relatives, ministers, and generals, he sought to conceal his hopeless condition, his object being to guard against neglect of his orders and negligence of duty. Swollen by the dropsy so as not to be able to rise from his couch without help, and tortured with pain, he did not give the least indication of suffering or impatience, but maintained a peaceful and pleasant demeanor, and talked in the liveliest manner with those about him on politics, literature, history, and agriculture. In these last months of his life he appears to have become milder and more tolerant than ever before.

On August 15, 1786, he discharged for the last time the business of state, comprising many important diplomatic despatches, and the disposition for a manoeuvre of the Potsdam garrison. On the following day his weakness increased to such a degree that he was scarcely able to utter an intelligible word. On the next morning, August 17, he fell softly asleep, his only attendant being his valet, Strützki. No priest had approached the dying philosopher, no pomp of any sort surrounded him. In Spartan self-renunciation he had lived and labored, in Spartan self-renunciation he died.

Frederick (PLATE XXII.) died at the right moment for his fame and happiness. At the time of his death, traces were to be discovered everywhere of the approach of a new and changed era, which broke away from the traditions of the eighteenth century, and looked at matters from entirely new points of view. But in Germany the process of transformation was quite different from that in

France. In the latter country it took place mainly in the political domain. On the east of the Rhine, however, it was pre-eminently in the intellectual, and especially in the literary sphere. Fundamentally as the revolution transfigured the French political institutions, the sentiments and views of the great majority of the French people emerged from the vortex essentially unchanged. Tocqueville has drawn attention to the fact, that, with the exception of the total annihilation of the aristocracy, the French of 1815 show a surprising resemblance to those of 1789. Vastly different, on the other hand, is the exalted intellectual condition of the Germany of 1815 from the stolid and narrow-minded disposition of the great majority of the people half a century before.

It is altogether false, that, as has been maintained, the French Revolution exercised only a prejudicial influence upon German conditions, and that but for it their development would have been more peaceful, rapid, and successful in a moderately liberal direction. Were not all the former attempts at reform, however simple and necessary, foiled? Were not the efforts of the Emperor Joseph in this direction completely baffled? Had not even a Frederick the Great to content himself with the mere abolition of serfdom? and did not this institution continue to prevail almost everywhere else in Germany? There was nowhere the least indication that any one thought of abolishing the degrading system of caste, and giving the people a direct interest in public affairs, or of abrogating the inequalities as regarded taxation and military service. Neither in the political, religious, nor literary situation of the Germany of that time do we find the slightest germ of politico-social regeneration. All the new conquests made in this sphere — the dissolution of the moribund Roman Empire, communal self-administration, equality before the law, emancipation of the peasants, universal liability to military service, the introduction, or at least the promise, of constitutional conditions, the awakening of the political sense in the whole people — for all these Germany had to thank the influence that reached her from beyond the Vosges. German intellect, indeed, levelled and prepared the soil; but the seed was planted by that great French Revolution whose evil consequences have disappeared for Germany, but whose beneficial effects have remained to her to this day.

CHAPTER IX.

HARBINGERS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

WHILE in a great part of Europe the rulers were trying to bring their administration into harmony with the spirit of the times, Louis XV. continued to make his monarchy at once hated and despised, and to furnish the enemies of royal absolutism with new reasons for embitterment and new weapons to use against it. After the death of the Pompadour (April 15, 1764), and of the dauphin (1765) and his second wife (1767), and, finally, of the Queen Maria Leszczynska (June, 1768), the king held himself absolved from all regard to persons and gave himself up to concubinage with a common strumpet, the wondrously beautiful Jeanne Vaubernier, then twenty-four years old. Married, for the sake of appearances, to a Monsieur Dubarry, she gained the most complete ascendancy over the aging king. Choiseul, indeed, resisted to the best of his power this new infringement of the respect to monarchy, but his praiseworthy efforts were to result only in his own ruin.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of the Seven Years' War, Choiseul had, through his pleasing manners, his adroitness, and his generally discreet policy, made himself indispensable to the king. Even the death of his patroness, Pompadour, had scarcely appreciably weakened his influence. As minister of war and foreign relations, he ruled France with almost unlimited power, and his high position was in no way unmerited. He had the advantage of possessing and carrying out a fixed and well-considered political system, its leading features being the greatest possible freedom and conciliation at home, and, abroad, the isolation of England, in order to exact revenge from her for the humiliations endured by France in the Seven Years' War. This system Choiseul realized in his domestic administration, not only by fostering the parlements and the Jansenists, and combating the Jesuits, but also by seeking to protect the Protestants from the persecutions which constantly impended over them. Men were still sent to the galleys for life, and women shut up in prison, for taking part in religious assemblies,

while churches and meeting-houses were torn down. The fact that Choiseul used his whole influence in favor of those unfortunates redounds to his imperishable credit; and, although he thereby incurred the displeasure of his co-ministers as well as of the bigoted and immoral king, he carried out his purpose in many cases. On the other hand, in order completely to isolate England, he entered into the closest relations with Spain, urged on Turkey to occupy the Russians, and fostered the Russian alliance at the cost of the greatest sacrifices. In the hope of bringing about a state of matters which would facilitate the attack on insolent England, Choiseul was able, without great expense in money and men, to make an important conquest for France.

The island of Corsica was again in bloody revolt against the petty and vexatious sway of the Genoese, and the champions of liberty under the heroic Pasquale Paoli completely overthrew their foreign despots. Under these circumstances, the republic of Genoa gladly sold the burdensome possession to France in May, 1768. Choiseul not only had the merit of having effected this conquest, but he adopted such admirable military measures, that in one year the Corsicans were brought to complete submission, while Paoli had to flee to England, in June, 1769. The affairs of the island were administered so discreetly and beneficently by its new masters, that the most of the leading families — among them the Bonapartes — were soon reconciled to the change.

Immediately after this great victory, Choiseul carried out a plan through which he hoped to confirm his political system and at the same time secure for himself a position not to be shaken. In the spring of 1770 he brought about the marriage of the youthful dauphin, Louis, the eldest grandson of the king, with Marie Antoinette, a daughter of Maria Theresa, still little more than a child. Austrian influence now made itself felt at the court of Versailles, and Choiseul's sway seemed confirmed for a period extending beyond the life of Louis XV. And yet almost instantly his own complete and final overthrow followed.

Several circumstances contributed to bring about the fall of the all-powerful minister, one of the most vital of these being the continuance of the war which the ambitious Jansenist opposition in the parlement had declared against absolutism. Choiseul constantly advised the monarch to mildness and conciliation, a policy often distasteful enough to Louis. But the more concessions were made to

the judiciary, the bolder it grew. Not only in Paris, but in the provinces as well, it demanded the right of co-operation in all financial measures, while it hoped to attain that illegitimate power which it had in vain striven for in other countries. As all the parlements, without exception, were true to each other, the government was in most cases compelled to give way. Thus the claims of the supreme courts for the financial co-administration of the kingdom were strengthened, and the crown, which was continually involved in money difficulties, made still more dependent on the parlements.

Hottest of all was the war which broke out, in 1764, between the government and the Parlement of Brittany, in Rennes, over a provincial tax which the latter had rejected. When, in spite of this, the tax was levied, the parliamentary councillors gave in their resignation; and when the whole province took their part, the government, on the motion of the governor,—the Duke of Aiguillon,—had the two La Chalotais (father and son), with four associates, thrown into prison. Aiguillon constituted out of certain jurists of ill repute a new parlement, which encountered violent opposition on all sides. Ultimately all the other high courts united to make energetic representations to the king in regard to the situation. Here, too, the monarch had to give way; Aiguillon had to renounce his governorship, and negotiations were entered upon to rehabilitate the former parlement (1768).

With these negotiations Louis intrusted his newly nominated chancellor, René de Maupeou. A man of intellect, inexhaustible in resources, skilled in intrigues, an unwearied worker, of determined will, greedy for honor and gain, and utterly unscrupulous, he was the most formidable opponent of the parlements, and would without doubt, if Louis had permitted him, have constituted a bench of judges, juridically and politically more subservient than the existing one.

Scarcely had he been elevated to the dignity of the chancellorship when he set to work to secure political influence for himself. With this end he made sedulous court to Dubarry, who was embittered against Choiseul on account of his hostility to her. She allied herself with Aiguillon, who also hated Choiseul on account of his recall from his post as governor of Brittany. Both of these individuals labored zealously for the overthrow of the prime minister. They gained their first triumph, when, in 1769, they brought about the fall of Monsieur d'Invault, comptroller-general of finances and a

friend of Choiseul, and had the Abbé Terray introduced into the ministry.

Terray, or du Terray, was only a peasant's son; but his great skill in juristic and political affairs in time gained for him great influence in the high courts of law and a large income. Notwithstanding his cynical immorality, he was highly popular as the opponent of the dominant financial policy. But Maupeou knew his man, and was convinced that he would place his high abilities at the service of whatever cause promised him the most profit and honor. In point of fact, Terray took no thought of remedying, through reforms of any kind, the deplorable condition of the French finances. He knew a much more simple mode of attaining his end without in any way pecuniarily injuring the king and his courtiers, — namely, by simply defrauding the state's creditors of their own. With cynical coolness he cancelled one obligation of the public treasury after another, or materially reduced them. The parlements, the self-constituted and noisy champions of the public weal, had nothing to say against this iniquitous proceeding, except when the interests of their own members were affected by it. The despoiled public took a witty revenge. The little Parisian street *Vide-Gousset* ('Empty Pocket'), it christened 'Terray Street.' In the case of a crush, the people called out, "Where is our dear Terray, that he may reduce us by half?" The Duke of Choiseul vigorously resisted the measures of the minister of finance; but Maupeou and Terray had already made him so much suspected by the king, as a secret ally of the parliamentary opposition, that his influence on all questions of domestic policy was reduced to nothing. The bourgeoisie, however, was filled with inextinguishable hatred for this despotic administration, which fulfilled none of its duties, and, instead of protecting property and order, attacked and destroyed them; and they greeted the appearance of an opposition to it of any kind with loud applause.

Soon such an opposition showed itself in Brittany. In order to conciliate the favor of the judges as a class, Maupeou had prevailed on the king to recall the parlement of that province, with, however, the exception of the two *La Chalotais*, who had incurred the royal displeasure. The natural consequence of this half-measure was that the victorious judicature of Rennes energetically demanded the re-seating of both these members. It spoke of the natural rights of every citizen, and of the triumph of law over violence. Thus had the principles of the 'philosophy' made an entrance into the lan-

guage of official France. When the king refused its demands the Parlement of Brittany sought means of revenge. It began an investigation directed against the Duke of Aiguillon for bringing false evidence against the six members. As the case affected a peer of the realm, the Parlement of Paris demanded that it should be tried at its bar; and, although the government tried to quash it by all sorts of intrigues, it pronounced its verdict on July 2, 1770, in a full assembly of all the chambers, by which it declared d'Aiguillon guilty, and deprived him of the privileges of the peerage. Maupeou and Terray, indeed, caused a royal letter of pardon to be issued in his favor; but not only the people of the capital, but all the royal princes, took the side of the Parlement of Paris. The Parlement of Bordeaux gave the transaction its true importance by stigmatizing the king's arbitrary vetoing of judicial sentences as an illegal abuse of his supreme power. Maupeou clearly recognized the importance of such a decision, that was read with avidity throughout the whole kingdom; he threw its author into prison, setting up against it a pretended decision of the council, — of which he was the sole author, — declaring that the French crown was above all laws and, in short, possessed despotic power.

The conflict took still greater proportions. All the high legal tribunals declared for the parlements of Paris and Bordeaux, and proscribed d'Aiguillon in defiance of all prohibitions and violent measures on the part of the court. The Parlement of Paris made, on September 6, 1770, a solemn protest against the attempt "to subvert the form of government, contrary to the spirit and letter of the fundamental laws of the French monarchy, and to substitute for the equal power of the laws the ill-regulated impulses of arbitrary rule."

But in Maupeou they had a resolute and able antagonist, who did not hesitate to set up against the principle of the constitutional limitation of the power of the crown that of its constitutional omnipotence. Immediately upon the verdict of the parlement, he caused an edict to be issued by the king, deploring the pernicious "spirit of the systems" which had invaded the supreme tribunals, denying the validity of their sentences, and commanding that the parlements should carry out his will unconditionally.

The historical right was, doubtless, on the side of the king and his chancellor. The parlements possessed, neither in virtue of their origin, their purpose, nor finally of their structure, the power of limiting the government. They were the highest judicial tribunals,

and nothing more. The attainment of seats in them was simply a financial transaction. In so far, therefore, the government had sufficient ground for the attitude it assumed. Nevertheless, it should have appreciated that the views and needs of the times were fully changed; that monarchy could no longer regard itself as existing solely for its own behoof; that disasters abroad, and the evil condition of affairs at home, gave the nation a claim to take part in, and amend, the administration, which, through the form it had assumed, had become ripe for reform. Many not less absolute rulers had recognized this, and acted in conformity thereto, to their own gain and that of their dynasties. Meanwhile Louis XV. had, in stubborn egotism, shut his eyes and ears against such views, and so brought about the overthrow and ultimate ruin of the oldest royal house of Europe. From this time forth the breach between the people and the crown became ever wider and more incurable.

Maupeou, in his edicts and speeches, expounded, with the greatest clearness and irrefutable logic, the true theory of the French system of government. The consequence of this was, that the French recognized that their government was an absolute Turkish despotism, and that the prince, or his minister, or his mistress, could dispose unconditionally of their lives, their liberties, and their property. From this time forth monarchy appeared as a true enemy of the French people, who were conscious of their strength, and would not permit themselves to be treated like Turks.

The Parlement of Paris, indeed, declared this openly, when the king attempted to enforce his will upon it by a *lit de justice* ('bed of justice'¹).

The parlement denounced this as a tyrannical attack upon the

¹ The seat, or throne, upon which the king sat when personally present at the parlement. From this original meaning, the expression came to denote a solemn proceeding resorted to by the monarch in order to carry some measure over the will of the parlement; the 'bed of justice' being a solemn session of the king in parlement for the purpose of registering his edicts as ordinances. According to the old French constitution, the authority of the parlements, being derived entirely from the crown, ceased when the king was present; and, consequently, all ordinances enrolled at a 'bed of justice' were acts of the royal will and of greater validity than decisions of parlement. The ceremony was as follows: The king was seated on the throne and covered; the princes of the blood royal, the peers, and all the several chambers being present. The chancellor declared the object of the session, and the persons present then deliberated upon it. The chancellor collected the opinions of the members of the assembly in the order of their rank, and afterwards declared the determination of the king in the following words: "Le roi, en son lit de justice, a ordonné et ordonne qu'il sera procédé à l'enregistrement des lettres sur lesquelles on a délibéré." — TR.

"most sacred rights securing the honor and property of his subjects." Meanwhile, till it received a satisfactory answer from the monarch, it suspended all work, by which not only the administration of justice was rendered impossible, but also the execution of any administrative or financial law whatever; and in this determination it remained firm, although the king repeatedly ordered the contrary.

All the measures directed against the parlement were adopted without the co-operation, nay, even without the knowledge, of Choiseul. He carefully retreated to the background, for he well knew that he had been accused to Louis XV. as in alliance with the refractory judges. But Maupeou, and his friends Terray and d'Aiguillon, represented even this neutrality as an act of treachery, accusing their enemy of secretly encouraging the parlementarians. The wrath and mistrust with which the bitter conflict had imbued Louis's mind, led him to attach belief to these accusations. Choiseul, with the view of making himself and the minister of marine — his cousin, the Duke of Praslin — indispensable, resolved to precipitate the war with England. The outbreak of the war must involve the fall of the hostile triumvirate, since, for the imposition of new taxes or the contraction of new loans, the co-operation of the Parlement of Paris was absolutely essential.

He availed himself for this end of two trifling occurrences, — a violation of the French territory of Chandernagore by the English East India Company, and the occupation of the Falkland Islands by the English. Behind the back, as it were, of his own sovereign, Choiseul endeavored to rouse Spain to engage in a war with England, in which France also would be compelled, through the Family Compact, to participate, without Choiseul himself appearing to his peace-loving master as the author of the war. At length he induced Charles III. to adopt the bold resolution; but he had now to learn that he had hurt only himself, inasmuch as Louis XV. would consent to carry on no war at all, but rather let his Spanish cousin fall, and France dishonorably break her compacts. It was too late for the minister to adopt a new course. When Charles III. categorically demanded French help against England, Louis coolly declined to lend it, and on December 24, 1770, banished Choiseul to his estate of Chanteloup.

The fall of Choiseul meant a true revolution, not only in France itself, but also in the relations of Europe. This power now abandoned Austria, Poland, and the Porte to their fate; Spain had to

concede the demands of England, and renounce the Falkland Islands. D'Aiguillon was Choiseul's successor. Such proceedings necessarily aggravated the conflict between the crown and the supreme law-courts. Maupeou resolved on taking a decisive step. In the night of January 20, 1771, every one of the councillors of the Parlement of Paris was awakened by two musketeers, who handed him a letter requiring him, on pain of rebellion, to sign a pledge of unconditional obedience to the king's will. The great majority of the judges showed commendable firmness, only 38 of the 180 submitting to the dictates of the chancellor. All the rest were despoiled of their positions, and sent in strict exile to different places. Even the thirty-eight would not separate themselves from their associates, but entered a sharp protest against the violence done them; they, too, had thereupon to go into exile.

The people gave expression to their indignation in such a decided manner that the government adopted comprehensive military measures of precaution. Numberless pamphlets denounced the tyranny of the chancellor and the conscienceless weakness of the king. When Maupeou commissioned the members of the state council to represent the suppressed parlement, the advocates, and even the public, refused to appear before them, while the populace maltreated the all too complaisant state councillors. The provincial parlements, and even the princes of the blood royal, protested emphatically against what had been done, while the inferior tribunals suspended all work. Despotism was already condemned and morally annihilated.

But it still possessed the power, and in Maupeou a servant as energetic as he was able. The chancellor did not satisfy himself with rude acts of violence, but conceived the plan of making use of the situation for the introduction of a comprehensive reform and reorganization of the administration of justice, in the hope of thus winning over the public sentiment in his favor. On February 23 he announced his purpose of distributing the much too extensive functions of the Parlement of Paris among six superior councils (*conseils supérieurs*), whose members were to be appointed and paid by the king. By these, questions of law were to be decided gratuitously, and in a way much more expeditious than formerly. He had it in view to extend the reform to the whole kingdom; and it cannot be denied that if his scheme had been carried out in its entirety it would have constituted a boon of the highest value to the justice-seeking public.

Nevertheless, this salutary reform had two great defects in the eyes of the people, — one, that it had its origin in an act of violence ; the other, that it was less due to any good feeling towards the subjects than to the wish to abrogate, along with the parlements, the last barriers against absolutism and ministerial arbitrary power. Furthermore, no jurist of eminence would accept a position in the new superior courts (*conseils supérieurs*), so that these were partly occupied by men of ill-repute and partly by judges who sat at the same time in an inferior court. All the provincial parlements, threatened in their existence, even the Parisian court of taxes (*cour des aides*), gave prominence to this bad state of matters in the violent proclamations with which they flooded France, declaring the verdicts and whole doings of the new courts without validity of any kind. The leadership of this opposition was undertaken by the president of the court of taxes, Lamoignon de Malesherbes, a man distinguished for personal worth, juristic ability, and sound learning. The administration of justice threatened to be completely blocked ; and the police themselves promoted the circulation of countless pamphlets, in which the government, and especially the chancellor, were attacked in the most virulent and personal manner.

But in the face of all acts of hostility and all difficulties, which would have overwhelmed a weaker man, Maupeou showed firm determination. The court of taxes was abolished, just as the former Parlement of Paris had been. Then the chancellor changed his tactics, in the hope of breaking down the opposition. Contrary to the edict of February he, in April, 1771, reconstituted the Parlement of Paris by nominating new judges with greatly limited functions, and under the express prohibition of permitting themselves to accept perquisites from parties. The councillors who refused to enter the new parlement were exiled, while an attempt was made to coerce all individuals who were in any way available to accept positions in it. Excepting, however, in the case of the friends of the Jesuits, who naturally rejoiced in being able to avenge themselves on their old enemies, this object was scarcely attained.

But Maupeou was moved from his purpose neither by passive resistance nor by the jeers of the Paris populace. Ultimately he was able, through alternate acts of violence and cajolery, to prevail upon a number of attorneys to act as advocates before the new parlement. The public hated and condemned these renegades ; but since, after the long period of intermission, it was necessary to resume the

administration of justice, Maupeou's court began to exercise its function. Gradually the lower classes, at least, became weary of useless opposition. The chancellor was able to proceed to the reorganization of the inferior courts also, troubling himself little about the persistent hostility of the middle and higher classes, whom he justly believed to lack the energy to attempt a revolution.

His views were, as has been said, vast and comprehensive, his purpose being, after his first victories, to suppress all the provincial parlements, and substitute for them *conseils supérieurs*, on the type prescribed in the edict of February, the Parlement of Paris alone retaining the right, under the direct supervision of the court, of registering laws and remonstrances. To this unity in the administration of law, uniformity in legislation throughout the whole kingdom was to be joined. But all Maupeou's projects were shipwrecked through the weakness and indolence of the monarch. Maupeou had to content himself with initiating a series of new vexations and semi-persecutions, which only awakened new enemies, and called forth new attacks upon himself.

In spite of all this, his work, from the conclusion of the year 1771, seemed, so far as he had been able to carry it out, to be successful. At the cost of almost superhuman labor, he had reorganized all the parlements of the realm. These performed their work with regularity, and the administration of justice was insured. D'Aiguillon and Terray were on the watch to overthrow him in order to get all power into their own hands; but he knew how, with the aid of the Jesuit party, to defend himself with success. The hostility of the royal princes was, owing to the autocratic aversion of the monarch for his relatives, only of use to him. Even the scandalous quarrel between the new councillor of the Parlement of Paris, Goetzmann, and the famous Beaumarchais (Fig. 64), who was honored by all the higher classes, was not able to hurt Maupeou's position or work.

In April, 1774, Louis XV. was struck down by a loathsome disease consequent upon his debaucheries. The whole nation was jubilant over his dangerous condition, for he had gradually made himself hateful to his people. Many went even so far as to accuse him of murdering his son, the dauphin, and of having entered into a 'starvation compact' with the extortionate speculators in grain. On May 10 he expired, suffering bitter qualms of conscience, and forsaken by all his family and flatterers. Hatred and the maledictions of his people pursued his coffin to the tomb.

The state he left behind him was in a completely disorganized condition. Terray had not brought about an effectual reform of the finances. Although the net produce of the taxes had increased, under Louis XV., from 165,000,000 francs to 360,000,000 francs in the year, the yearly deficit in times of the most profound peace rose to forty millions. The sums squandered annually by Louis on his pleasures, his mistresses, and favorites had gone up to the incredible height of 180,000,000 francs. In order to satisfy such demands, the government abused its power to enter into monop-



FIG. 64. — Beaumarchais. From a lithograph by Delepech.

listic speculations in grain, which were ruinous to the husbandman. The hatred of the people was directed not only against the monarchical administration, but also against the aristocracy. The nobleman was no longer bound to discharge any administrative duty, and was only distinguished from others through his prerogatives and privileges. He enjoyed the right of demanding forced labor from his tenantry, and the privilege of the chase. The husbandmen had to pay an extravagant price for having their grain ground in his mills and their grapes crushed in his wine-press. They owed him yearly rents, in money or in the produce of their fields,

which they were never able to pay. The nobles held almost all the high positions in the army and administration, were not liable to punishment for offences and crimes, and often were freed from responsibility for their debts. The clergy were bitterly hated by the peasantry for the same causes and on account of the church tithes. In an army of 200,000 men, there were 1268 generals, all nobles, as a matter of course. Many regiments consisted exclusively of officers, all of noble rank. And yet the nobility numbered only 110,000 members, about the two hundredth part of the population. The ruling classes regarded themselves as entitled to exploit their governmental functions solely for their own benefit. The king lived amid his courtiers, fawned upon by them with Byzantine servility, but was totally alien to his people, about whose circumstances and needs he knew nothing and cared as little. The cultured classes were thoroughly instructed in regard to Greece and Rome, and had a high admiration for their republican institutions; but of the state machinery which they were to conduct, and the people that they were to guide, as officials, priests, and teachers, they knew absolutely nothing. There was, indeed, one power which regarded it as its mission to limit absolutism and to guide it into more popular paths; namely, the parlements. But unfortunately they did not possess the least knowledge either of the general principles of administration or of foreign policy.

Society was split up into the minutest sections, the bourgeoisie into numberless corporations, every one with a well-defined caste. The contempt which the higher caste showed for those below them in rank produced, in almost all classes, a permanent state of discontent, which contributed not a little to the outbreak of the Revolution. It was precisely these endless distinctions which brought about the urgent demand for universal equality. Worst of all fared the peasants, who were despised and trodden under foot by all the other classes. In their landlords and clergy, they saw only their bitterest enemies. The partiality shown in the allotment of the income-tax, and the rigor with which it was levied, drove them to despair. The government and the tribunals dealt with the utmost leniency with the higher classes, but with the utmost severity with the common people, and especially with the peasants, who, without any regular process, were often thrown into prison, robbed of their property, and sent to the galleys. On the least symptom of insubordination they were subjected to the martial law of the gendarmes. But the end-

less class distinctions brought another evil with it: they so disintegrated society that any effective guidance of it became impossible, and that on the first shock the whole social structure collapsed and went to pieces. The great mass of the people was ignorant, and felt itself oppressed and miserable, and only awaited a leader to strike a crushing blow at society. Legally the French peasant was in a better situation than his fellows in most other lands. He disposed freely of his own holding, and stood only exceptionally under the superintendence of his landlord. But just because he felt himself freer and more independent, he regarded with the greater hatred the innumerable unjust and vexatious prerogatives of the privileged classes, whose subject he no longer was. Religion did not exercise the smallest degree of soothing influence on men's minds. Meanwhile, the teaching of the 'philosophers' had had its effect.

The derangement had gone so far, and the blind resistance of French monarchy to the new tendency of the 'enlightenment' and humanity had driven matters to such a point, that the attempt at reform only gave the signal for the long-dreaded outbreak of revolutionary passions.

The new king, Louis XVI. (Fig. 65), was twenty years old when he succeeded his grandfather on the throne. He had been brought up in ignorance and in complete inexperience in the business of state. Unfortunately he possessed but little ability to compensate for these defects. He was, at bottom, benevolent and indisposed to tyranny of any kind, and sincerely anxious for the welfare of his subjects; but, on the other hand, he was weak, undecided, incapable of forming an independent judgment, and therefore under the sway of those about him, and at once melancholy and impetuous. For the diligent discharge of the affairs of state he had not the least inclination, but rather had a taste for occupations involving mere physical exertion, as the chase, and the trades of the builder and turner. His wife exercised a most unfortunate influence on him. On account of her nationality, Marie Antoinette had many enemies in France, who regarded her as the representative of the Austrian alliance of 1756; and the number of these enemies she augmented not only by her light-minded and frivolous conduct, but also by her amenability to the counsels of her mother, who desired to exercise, through her, an influence on French politics. These errors were much exaggerated by the public, but mainly through her own fault. She gave herself out as all powerful, although she was

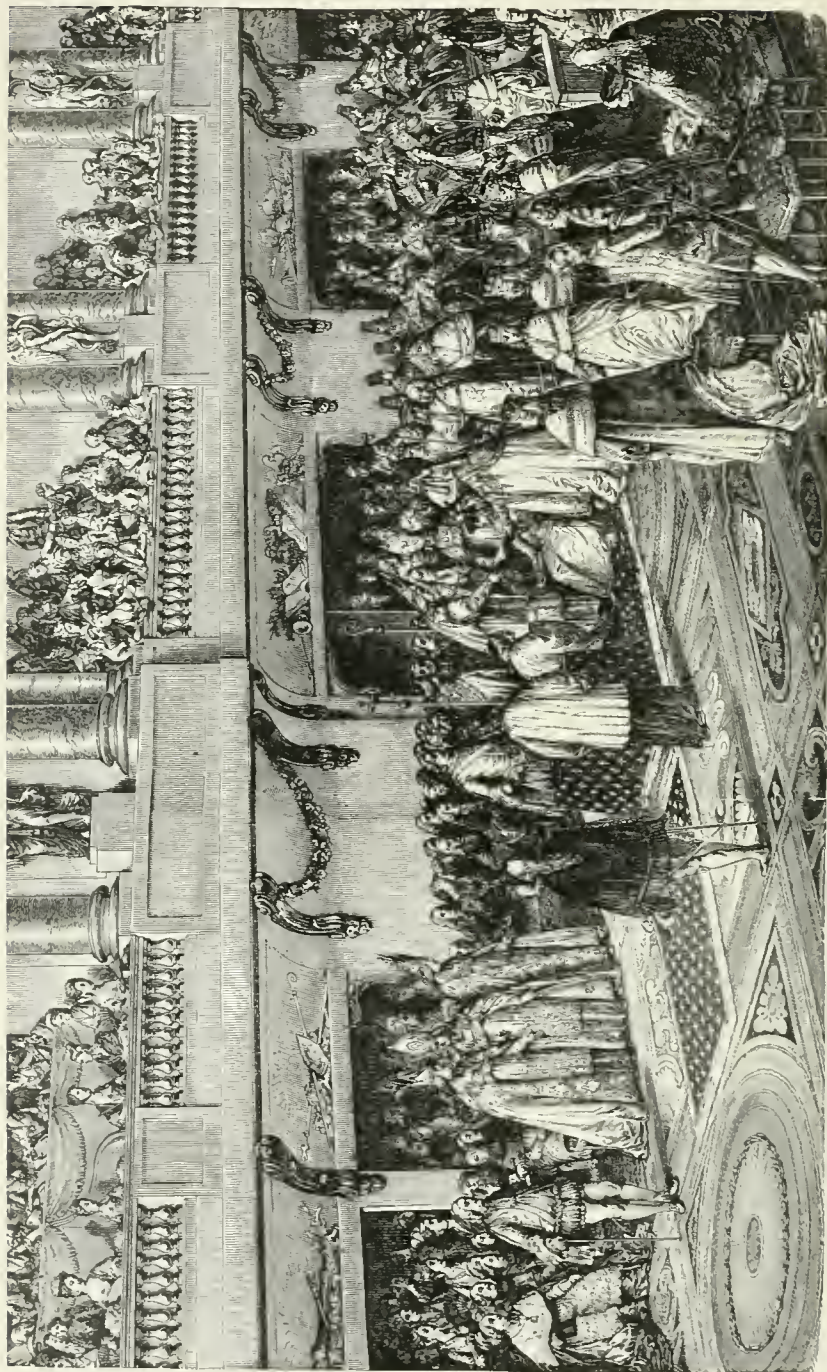


FIG. 65. — Louis XVI. taking the oath at his coronation at Rheims. Etching after his own painting by Jean Michel Moreau the younger (1741-1814).

nothing of the kind. From her liking for what was racy she assumed the rôle of an immoral person without really being one. She surrounded herself with numerous depraved male and female friends belonging to the highest nobility, for whom, as well as for herself, she indulged in boundless prodigality. While Louis often grudged even the most needful outlays for his own person, he laid no restriction in regard to her. Millions were squandered in pensions and gifts to her favorites.

Louis was equally thoughtless in regard to the choice of his first minister. In place of d'Aiguillon he nominated the aged Count Maurepas, who possessed no other merit than that he had fallen into disgrace with Pompadour, and therefore with Louis XV. He had now lived for a quarter of a century without business of any kind. But he was clever and witty, courteous and pleasant in manner. In vain had Marie Antoinette striven for the restoration of Choiseul; but here Louis stood firm, and would even hear nothing more of a closer alliance with Austria, whose representative the duke was. But the nomination of Maurepas was a grave mistake, because, not from ripe reflection and earnest conviction, but from frivolous craving for popularity, he attempted to further the welfare of the country through far-reaching reforms.

Not till after considerable delay, which gave rise to murmuring in many quarters, did he begin these. The public saw with indifference that the administration of foreign affairs was intrusted to Vergennes, the best diplomat of France, and a statesman who desired to elevate his country by an upright and powerful policy. Ultimately, in August, 1774, Maupeou was deprived of his seals of office, and banished to his estate, Terray sharing his fate. Amid the universal rejoicing which these dismissals called forth, the chancellor maintained the most dignified attitude. Louis himself was delighted with the enthusiasm with which the people everywhere greeted him, and in his joy summoned to the management of the finances an official well known for his innovating views, the Marquis of Turgot (Fig. 66), up to this time intendant of Limoges.

Sprung from an ancient family of Normandy, which had already given to the state many judges and other high officials, Turgot was born in the year 1727. In his youth he was a student of theology, but in 1750 the young abbé threw off his spiritual vestments. In order to devote himself to the administration of public affairs, he became a member of the council of state (*conseil d'état*). An hon-



*Il aime à faire des heureux : I Il ne doit plus former de vœux,
 Du sort la faveur le seconde , Il fait le bien de tout le monde.
 A Paris chez Esnauts et Rapilly, rue S^t Jacques à la Ville de Coustances. A.P.D.R.*

FIG. 66. — Turgot.

orable, truly cultured man, of firm and upright character, and with a genius for reform, he was, unfortunately, deficient in tact and knowledge of men. He was well versed in political economy of the moderate physiocratic tendency, and, at the same time, an adherent of the philosophy of the period, but within the bounds of a wise moderation. As intendant he had not only manifested kindly and philanthropic feelings, but also a high degree of insight and ability for work, and had, in consequence, become the benefactor of a poor and hitherto neglected province. He now received, as a congenial colleague, for the administration of the royal household, Malesherbes, the president of the former court of taxes, an able, honorable, and liberal-minded jurist, whose desire was to suppress the tyrannical *lettres de cachet* which belonged to his department. Turgot himself condensed his principles into the three maxims which he addressed to the king: "No bankruptcy, no augmentation of taxes, no loans." Holding such views as these, it was necessary, in order to restore the equilibrium of the budget, to reduce the expenses by at least 20,000,000 a year, through the suppression of unmerited pensions to favorites and nobles. Besides this, he purposed to commute the imposts bearing heaviest on the poor for a general land-tax in proportion to the value of the estates, and without regard to the prerogatives of the nobility and clergy. Finally, he designed to do away with forced labor, and to abolish corporations and guilds, which impeded the free development of manufacturing industries, and, at the same time, to revive the political spirit of France on the basis of municipal self-administration. These reforms could be carried out, in the face of the indubitable opposition of the privileged classes, only by means of the supreme authority of the crown. But the monarch and his first minister had recourse to a measure which exposed their complete want of political sense, logic, or clearness of thought.

In the last two years Maupeou had carried a quite unexpected victory over the old parlements. He would probably have done better not to have begun the struggle at all; but now the deed was done; and had resulted favorably for the power of the throne as well as for the justice-seeking public. The chancellor, and with him the monarch, had carried a complete victory over their adversaries, which made all the greater impression because no one had believed in the possibility of it. The new parlements performed their functions with strict regularity; litigants and advocates crowded to their bars; and the verdicts they rendered were, on the whole, as satisfactory as

those of their predecessors, and, besides this, were given out much more promptly and cost much less. They accommodated themselves to the rôle of absolute submissiveness prescribed to them by Louis XV. and his minister. Public attention flagged, and was directed to other objects, while the war of pamphlets ceased.

But Maurepas proposed to reinstate the old tribunals, and that only from a light-minded desire for noisy popularity. All the other ministers opposed his project, even Turgot, as well as the clear-sighted Vergennes. The young ruler (PLATE XXIII.) himself had formerly been a decided foe of the parlements, and had as dauphin given his full approval to each of Maupeou's hostile steps. But Maurepas's representations, the earnest intervention of all the princes of the blood — who regarded the cause of the parlements as that of all the privileged classes — and finally his own good nature and weakness, decided the king to make concessions. This was the most eventful step in his government — that from which all the conflicts and misfortunes took their rise. It cannot be said that this measure alone was the direct cause of the Revolution, but it became the immediate occasion for this great event.

On November 12, 1774, the king held a *lit de justice*, in which he announced the reinstatement of the old parlements as well as the suppression of the six new superior courts. This was a crying injustice to those judges who had accepted their positions at the express command of the monarch, and put a premium on the opposition shown to the crown by the old councillors. At the same time, indeed, some decrees were read, designed to smoothe the retreat of the government and to prevent new encroachments by the parlements. The king forbade the suspension of judicial duties and the wholesale withdrawal from office as crimes against the state, and instituted a special high-court for their punishment. But it was clear that the parlements, emboldened by this renewed victory, would soon disregard these restrictions, against which, indeed, they immediately entered a protest. The monarchy had suffered a severe and most pregnant defeat, which revealed the weakness of the young ruler, and invited further resistance to him.

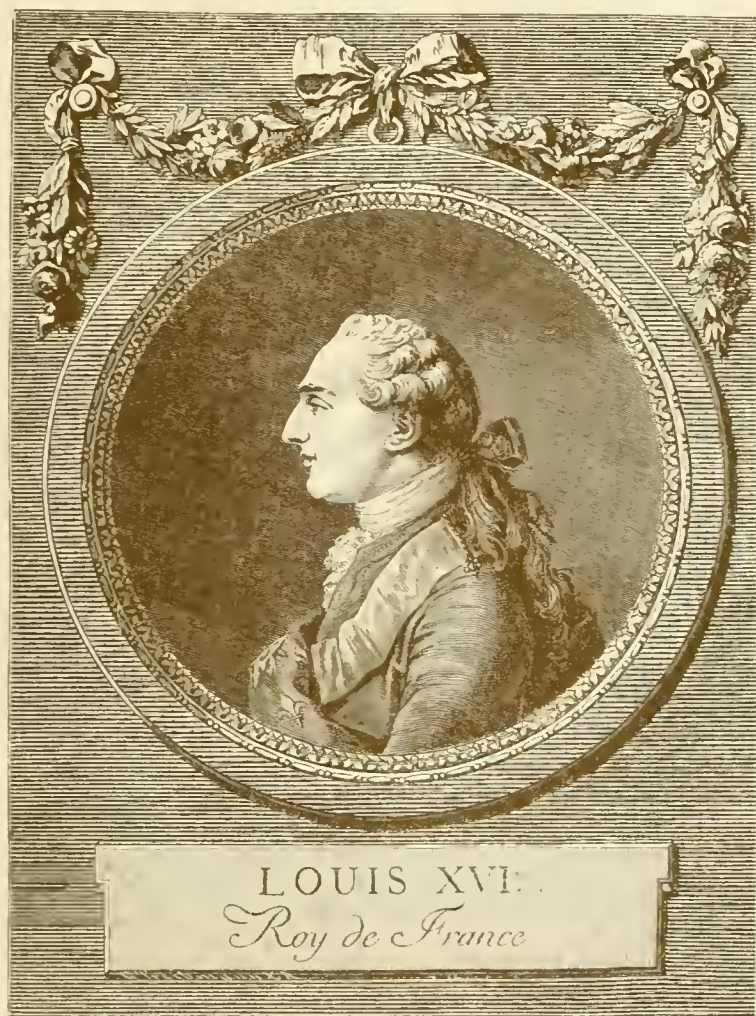
Meanwhile Turgot had begun to carry out his comprehensive reform-plan. In September, 1774, an edict first of all struck off the restrictions which impeded the grain-trade in the interior of the kingdom, and promised at least free exportation. In like manner some of the worst abuses connected with the levying of the taxes



Marie Antoinette of Austria, Queen of France.

From a copper-plate engraving, 1773, M

History of All Nations, Vol. XV., page 318.



Louis XVI., King of France.

Marie Boizot : drawing of L. S. Boizot.

were redressed. The monopolists and financiers, who saw their unjust gains diminished through his schemes, incited, during the spring of 1775, riots in many large cities against free-trade in grain. The king was on the point of giving way to the mutineers, but Turgot's determined and energetic intervention soon put an end to this 'meal-war.' Unmoved by the 'privileged,' this excellent man persevered in his reforms. He instituted a regular postal service by stage-coaches, or diligences, known as 'Turgotines,' and restrained the police from interfering in matters of business. But, above all, he adopted two measures of far-reaching importance, namely, the abolition of the statute-labor rendered to the state and the suppression of corporations or guilds. The forced labor consisted mainly of services which the country people had to perform on the public high roads and in the building of bridges. In order that the state should suffer no damage, they were to be replaced by a direct general tax payable by both nobles and clergy. Up to this time the privileged classes had been free from direct taxation in any form; and to impose such upon them now appeared to them an act of robbery, despoiling them of their most valued prerogative. But this was precisely what Turgot meant to do. In the name of justice, humanity, and the public weal, he declared the immunity of the higher classes from taxation to be altogether unwarrantable, and deserving to be absolutely repealed. The suppression of the old compulsory trade-corporations was meant to unfetter manufacturing industry, both in city and country, and to make an end of the crying iniquities that the toiling craftsmen were wont to suffer at the hands of their privileged masters.

But in the ministerial council Turgot's schemes encountered the most obstinate resistance of all the favored parties. It is then that the king is reported as having said that "the only persons who truly love the people are Monsieur Turgot and myself." The Parlement of Paris also, which had so often put itself forward as the advocate of the people, now constituted itself the organ of all the feudal views, by rejecting these benevolent edicts, and could only be brought to register them, March 12, 1776, through a royal 'bed of justice.'

Turgot could still carry into effect a most salutary measure, that of freeing the wine-trade, of such vast importance to France. But already the great reform-work encountered the most serious difficulties.

The opposition of the parlement gave the signal for a general

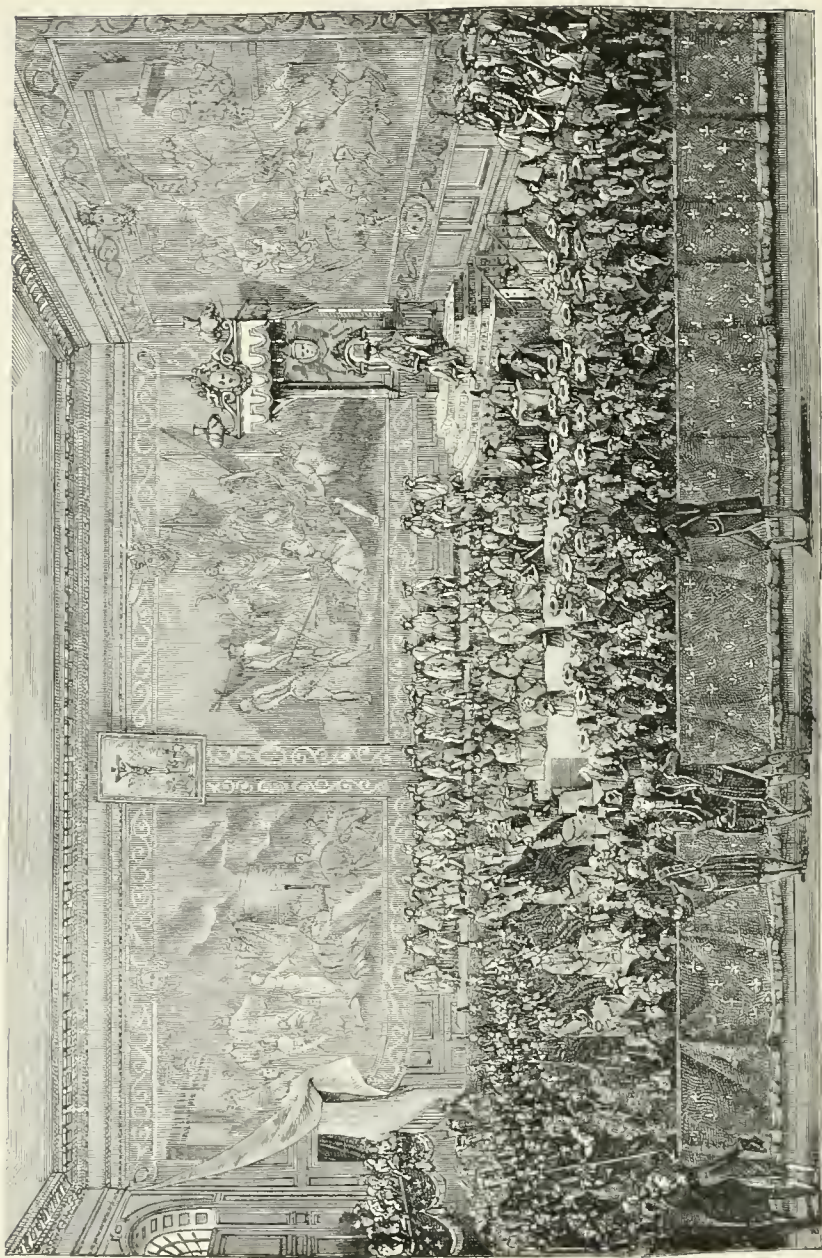


FIG. 67 (cf. FIG. 68). — 'Bed of justice' (*lit de justice*) at Versailles, in 1776. (From the original painting by Jean Girardet.)

revolt of the privileged classes against Turgot and his friends. Theoretically those favored parties were wont to be enthusiastic over the universal equality of man, over 'philosophy' and 'sentiment;' but when their professed views began to be realized, they found that matters had gone beyond a joke. The courtiers willingly attacked the man who closed the state-treasury against their avidity, and wished to suppress useless offices. In this they received the support of the extravagant queen, to whom Turgot's outspoken hostility to intrigues of any sort had from the first been an abomination. In point of fact, he had dreaded Marie Antoinette's aversion to him from the first day of his taking office. His position was still further shaken through the double fact that Malesherbes had shown himself too weak and devoid of energy to resist the queen and her courtiers, and that the war-minister, St. Germain, through the disbanding of the mere parade-troops, and the abolition of the numerous officers' posts, as well as through the introduction of the Prussian military system with its severe discipline, had roused great discontent in the army, and materially strengthened the outcry against the reformers. Louis XVI. himself complained of the amount of work that the intendant-general was imposing upon him; and was, besides, induced to listen to the representations of those about him, and especially of the queen, urging him to dismiss his minister. In vain did Turgot admonish his monarch. "Never forget, sire," he wrote to Louis, on April 30, 1776, "that the weakness of Charles I. brought him to the scaffold, and that only the weakness of Charles IX. made him merciless to his people; and, sire, the people hold you for a weak man." This gloomy warning embittered Louis XVI. all the more that it was well-grounded; so in May, 1776, after not two full years of power, Turgot and Malesherbes had to resign their offices.

This, after the recall of the parlements, constituted the second great and fatal error of Louis XVI.'s reign. The king had undertaken things of whose bearing he had no clear idea, and whose logically inevitable consequences thereafter terrified and confounded him. Monarchy had shown itself incapable of carrying out the most indispensable reforms, and had given evidence of a weakness which encouraged its enemies, and made every attack on it seem easy and promising of success. Louis himself, in his edicts, had spoken of the necessity of reform; but now, inasmuch as the ruler was unable to carry out any one essential reform, he himself justified in advance a violent and anti-monarchical revolution. From this time, indeed,

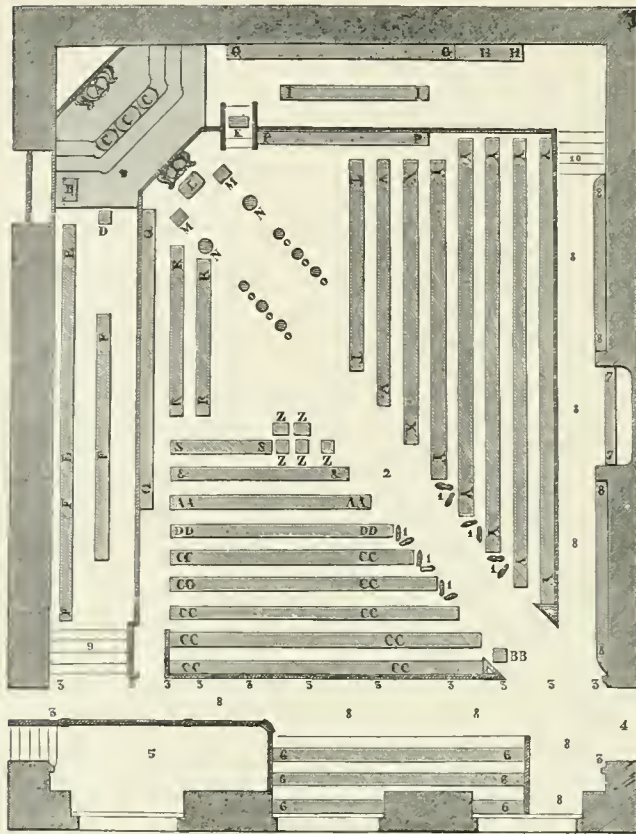


FIG. 68. — Plan of a 'bed of justice' (*lit de justice*) in the grand chamber of the Guards, in the Palace of Versailles. (Cf. Fig. 121.)

- A. The king. — B. The dauphin. — C. The high chamberlain. — D. Chief master of the horse. — E. The princes of the blood. — F. The dukes and temporal peers. — G. The spiritual peers. — H. The marshals of France. — I. The four captains of the king's body-guard, and the commander of the royal guard of the hundred Swiss. — K. The provost of Paris, sitting on the steps which lead up to the throne, and holding a white staff in his hands. — L. The chancellor of France in an arm-chair. — M. The grand master and the master of ceremonies. — N. The two mace-bearers of the king, kneeling. — O. The six heralds-at-arms, kneeling. — P. The first president and the presidents of parlement. — Q. The presidents of the court of inquiry and the court of appeals. — R. The councillors of state and the masters of appeals. — S. The secretaries of state. — T. The knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost. — V. The governors of the provinces. — X. The viceroys of the provinces. — Y. The councillors of the Grande Chambre. — Z. The controller of the chancery and the chief clerks of the Grande Chambre before two small writing-tables. — &. The court secretaries and the councillors of honor. — AA. The high constable of the palace and the royal gentlemen in waiting. — BB. The chief door-keeper of the Grande Chambre. — CC. The councillors of the court of inquiry and the court of appeals. — DD. The royal attorneys-at-law. — 1. The six 'gardes de la manche' (noblemen who attended the king on ceremonial occa-

everything spoke of revolution. Even the clergy demanded guaranties for the personal freedom and equality of the citizens before the law and in nomination to public offices; and they even required that the nation should have a voice in legislation as well as in the granting of taxes.

Maurepas was the least of all qualified to redress these evils, and to restore the wavering stability of the administration and the lost respect for the monarch. The new comptroller-general, Clugny, entered on the administration of the finances with a following of wanton strumpets, and made haste, out of favor for the privileged classes, to order the reintroduction of statute labor, and, with some limitations, of guilds and corporations.

Only one solitary ministerial department was conducted in an intelligent manner, and in conformity with its declared purpose, — namely, that of foreign affairs. Its occupant had been, since the overthrow of d'Aiguillon, the last distinguished statesman of old France, — namely, Count Vergennes (Fig. 69). From the very first he returned to the views of his former superior, Choiseul,



FIG. 69. — Count Vergennes. Facsimile of a contemporary anonymous copper-plate engraving.

and kept constantly in mind the elevation of his country from the humiliating situation to which she had been reduced through the Seven Years' War, as well as through the first partition of Poland. To realize this object he did not hesitate to ally himself with the North American colonies, then in rebellion against their legitimate sovereign, the king of Great Britain.

sions), in coats-of-mail and with their halberds. — 2. Grand master of the royal body-guard. — 3. The royal body-guards, with their muskets on their shoulders. — 4. The royal entrance. — 5. A small chamber for the queen, the dauphiness, and the princesses. — 6. Benches for the public. — 7. Bench for lower court-officials. — 8. For the public. — 9. Steps leading up to the place for the temporal peers. — 10. Steps leading up to the place for the spiritual peers.

The period of the Seven Years' War, and the years immediately following it, indicate the epoch in which England rose to be the foremost of all the industrial and commercial states of Europe. This constitutes the epoch of the first great mechanical inventions, and these were exclusively made by the English. After Harrison had already introduced the chronometer, and John Kay the shuttle, and after the first attempts had been made to smelt iron ore by means of coals, a simple silk-weaver, John Dollond, discovered the means of constructing the achromatic telescope (1757). Three years later Josiah Wedgwood discovered the white stone-ware which rivalled china in fineness, and far surpassed it in durability. Hargreave, a poor carpenter, constructed a machine which he called the 'spinning-jenny,' by which eight threads could be spun at once by the same person, and which was essentially improved in 1774 in Samuel Crompton's 'mule.' Richard Arkwright employed water-power for driving his spinning-machine (1771), and thus did away with much manual labor. In Nottingham he erected the first cotton-spinning factory. Cheapness of wares and increased consumption were the consequences of these improvements. The hand-spinners were much exercised over these inventions, inasmuch as they saw in them the depreciation of their own labor and its replacement through machinery. Hargreave had to flee from their attacks in Lancashire, where his house was torn down by an infuriated mob, and his machinery destroyed. Arkwright, too, had to suffer much from the hostility of the workmen; but such proceedings were unable to stay the progress of invention. Arkwright's success in gaining a patent by process of law enabled numerous other spinning-factories to be established. In Manchester, especially, there arose an extraordinary number. Far from diminishing the number of workers, the new machinery enabled it to be largely augmented. Cartwright, on his part, discovered the weaving-machine, the consequence being an industrial revolution of vast proportions. The great invention of James Watt in 1763,—namely, the improved steam-engine,—did not produce its immense effect till a later time.

Side by side with the cotton industry there grew up a second branch of English manufacturing enterprise, namely, the production of metal-ware. Of this branch of manufactures, Sheffield was the centre. The inexhaustibly rich coal and iron mines enabled these products to be developed from year to year, so that they came to rule the markets of the world.

Water then served, not only as an agent in mechanical labor, but also — and quite predominantly — for the movement of goods in the interior of the country. In place of the costly transport by means of wagons and pack-horses, there sprang up a great network of canals, which in the first two decades of the reign of George III. extended itself over all England. It was canals which made the colossal development of England in the eighteenth century at all possible. As the commercial, and especially the maritime capital, London attained more and more gigantic proportions.

The seaport then next in importance to London was Bristol, whose specialties were colonial products and the slave-trade; but it soon began to give way to the boldly aspiring Liverpool. Liverpool became the great market for the cotton manufactures of the neighboring Manchester, hand in hand with which it grew in importance.

But Scotland excelled all other lands in the production of linen, surpassing even Silesia and Westphalia. Everywhere there was energy and prosperity, and a lively competition to produce the best and most useful articles at a relatively low price. Great Britain ceased to be a purely agricultural country, but became pre-eminently a land of manufacturing enterprise. English husbandry and English cattle-breeding, indeed, were still unequalled in Europe; but the needs of the rapidly increasing industrial population required a rapidly increasing importation of articles of food.

Wealth flowed from all sides into Great Britain, changing its whole aspect and the life of the people. The middle classes, who, as a rule, had been needy, now rivalled the highest classes of the Continent in respect to comfort, food, lodging, and clothing. But this condition had also its dark side. The more enjoyable the life of the moneyed classes became, the more intense grew the misery of the poverty-stricken, and the wider became the breach separating the poor from the rich, so that it always became more and more difficult for a penniless man to struggle up from his position in life to a higher one. Money became the standard of everything. The upstarts who had acquired enormous wealth in the colonies filled the capital with the obtrusive display of their luxury, and sought through bribery to enter political life by the way of the 'rotten boroughs.' The spirit of unscrupulous competition and unbounded speculation, joined with the lust for speedy accumulation of wealth through any means, honest or dishonest, permeated the whole people. The English aristocracy, on the other hand, were more zealous than

ever in their watch that all the lucrative positions in the administration, army, navy, and the church should remain at their exclusive disposal.

In any case Great Britain was the much-admired land of riches, the model country for agriculture and cattle-breeding, as well as for manufactures and commerce, in which last departments it ruled the world. And England construed her obligations as Mistress of the Seas in no narrow-minded sense. The reign of George III. was especially the era of her magnificent voyages of discovery, the locality of which was the region which bore the name of the South Sea. In the years 1764 and 1765 Commodore Byron explored the insular groups on the west coast of Tierra del Fuego, in 1767 Captain Wallis discovered the most important of the Polynesian Islands, namely, Tahiti; but all other explorers were cast into the shade through the brilliant success which crowned the labors of Captain James Cook. In 1768 he was commissioned, together with certain natural historians, to observe the transit of Venus over the sun. He took advantage of this mission to make a voyage of discovery, in which he, among other things, first acquired a satisfactory knowledge of New Zealand, and for the first time landed on the east coast of Australia, which he explored with the utmost care, conferring on it the name of 'New South Wales.' Scarcely had he returned from this expedition (1771) when he was sent out anew to explore the continent stretching towards the South Polar Circle. He was successful in this also, so far as physical obstacles did not prevent him from carrying out his perilous task. A third voyage, on which he set out in July, 1776, had as its object the long-sought north-east passage from Europe to Asia by way of the northern coast of America. He proceeded first by the way of the Polynesian island groups, where he discovered the Sandwich archipelago. He then endeavored to force his way through the Bering Straits, but was stopped by the continuous ice-masses. He returned hence to the newly discovered Sandwich Islands, where he was slain by the natives in 1779. Samuel Hearne and Alexander Mackenzie meantime explored, under circumstances of indescribable privation and danger, the interior of the northern portion of the American continent.

No wonder that among these most industrious and practical people, scientific political economy had its origin, its author being the Scotchman, Adam Smith (1723-1790). For several years he had been a professor of philosophy in the University of Glasgow,

without effecting anything of much consequence, till, in 1776, he published his "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." He was the first to discover the canons that the wealth of a people consists in the sum of all the values of its articles of exchange which it produces or acquires; that the price of its wares is determined, on the one hand, by the share due the land-owner delivering the raw material, the share of the capitalist affording the means for work, and the share of the laborer, and, on the other hand, by the relation of the supply to the demand. Smith's works are thus, not only scientifically, but practically, of the highest importance, and are still regarded as a standard authority on the science established by him, although it cannot be denied that he gave to it a character too dogmatic, and not sufficiently historical.

Philosophy made, on the whole, no progress in the England of that period. It was dominated, most of all, by the school of Scottish philosophers, of which Hutcheson and Ferguson were the leaders. They laid the main emphasis on morality, whose doctrines they sought to found and develop in a somewhat rationalistic and purely intellectual way, on the basis laid by the deists, regarding the freedom of the will as the corner-stone of all moral philosophy. Side by side with this spiritualistic tendency, which remained the predominant one in the Scottish school, there also appeared a materialistic tendency, after the French type, whose chief representative was Priestley, and a sceptical one, represented by the thoughtful, earnest, and profound David Hume. But by far the greater part of cultured English society remained unaffected by materialism and scepticism. On the other hand, however, it was devoid of strong religious convictions, and did homage to the views of the deistic philosophers. Enlightened theologians, like Tindal, sought to bring religion into harmony with the claims of reason, and to refer it back to a purely rationalistic germ.

The aesthetic philosophy of England, which referred art and poetry to psychological laws, had its most eminent teacher in the renowned statesman, Edmund Burke. Much more important was the practical literary criticism, with its keen and incisive perception and solid erudition, exhibited by Samuel Johnson, the author of the still highly esteemed dictionary of the English language, which, notwithstanding its manifold shortcomings, did so much to purify and polish the literature of his period. For already there appeared in England, as simultaneously in Germany, a period of 'storm and

stress' much in harmony with the old English popular ballad-literature which was rescued by Percy from the relics of preceding centuries. This new tendency brought a fresher and more natural feeling into the somewhat artificial poetry of that epoch: but it required, nevertheless, the guiding and restraining hand of a master.

Considering the high political eminence which England had then attained, we cannot wonder that historiography was then developed on a grand scale. In it, as in all other spheres of intellectual activity, the Scotch took a leading part. To this country belonged David Hume, a profound and deeply-read psychologist, whose merit consists not so much in minute investigation of historical sources as in intuitive perception of character, whether of individuals or of whole periods. Hume brought down his "History of England" to the year 1688. Robertson — a Scotchman, like Hume — wrote an admirable history of his own land, covering only the reigns of Mary Stuart and James VI. It is now of comparatively little value, as is the case with his "History of the Emperor Charles V." On the contrary, his "History of America," from its accurate appreciation of the development of the Spanish settlements there, is still of high importance.

Edward Gibbon, a man of cold, calculating character, but eagerly ambitious for fame, was deeply imbued with the sceptical tone of the French society, with which he found himself most at home. His chief work, the "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," he wrote mainly in Lausanne (about 1785), adopting in it the ironical tone of Voltaire's historical works, regarding and estimating earlier times uniformly from the standpoint of the present. Still, he based his work on much more comprehensive and accurate sources than it was Voltaire's habit to do, and consequently made it much more conscientious and reliable than one would be apt to conclude from its rhetorical manner of representation. The bitterest hostility to religion pervades Gibbon's whole book.

The rationalistic spirit of the eighteenth century, wholly directed to fact, and its democratic views, led to the further development of the novel of every-day life which had already flourished in the preceding period. On Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett followed the charmingly sentimental Laurence Sterne, author of "Tristram Shandy," and "A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy," and Oliver Goldsmith, whose touchingly beautiful "Vicar of Wakefield" has delighted whole generations.

The hard-working and matter-of-fact England of the eighteenth

century was little adapted for the production of a striking dramatic literature. The moralizing play of every-day life sank completely to the dead level of mediocrity. But comedy found a much more important development. Its brightest and boldest representative was the renowned parliamentary orator Sheridan. His dramatic works include "The Rivals" (1775), and "The School for Scandal" (1777). He constituted one of a large number of talented writers, who, in their works, made war on prejudice and selfish affectation of virtue and religion, although frequently also, in no less degree, on morality, and upon everything elevating the soul above materialism and the grossest Epicureanism. Equally popular, but appealing more directly to the heart and feelings, was the new school of poetry. Its most eminent representative was the Scotsman, Robert Burns, the soul-stirring and captivating minstrel of his wild and romantic Highlands.

But this popular style of poetry is only one form of the protest ever making itself more clearly heard in England against the whole system of aristocracy and hierarchy. The opposition to the system was so powerful that, even in the eighteenth century, it might have brought about many of the reforms only realized in our own day, had not the outbreak of the French Revolution evoked a reaction. Thus the restless impulse after innovations brought forth a great revolution, if not immediately in England, at least in her most important colonies on the west coast of the Atlantic Ocean.

Precisely because he was a born Englishman, George III. felt that he was entitled to conduct the government in a more independent and unrestrained way than either of his ancestors. In the conviction that the time had come for emancipating the crown from its subordination to a Whig coterie, and for elevating monarchy above all parties, George and his counsellor Lord Bute stood by no means alone. A number of highly honorable men rallied round the king, resolved to yield obedience to him alone. These 'Friends of the King' were avowed adherents of an absolute monarchy scarcely limited through parliamentary forms. In this way George III. came to be the last English king that sought to bring a strong personal influence to bear on the course of the domestic and foreign policy of his realm, and was able, in a great measure, to carry out his purpose for a time.

After the removal of Pitt, George III. and Bute pursued their new course unmolested. Anxiously as the old Duke of Newcastle

elung to his ministerial office, he had to resign it in May, 1762. Bute, as first lord of the treasury, now took his place at the head of the government. He believed that he might be able to intimidate his numerous enemies by strong measures; and all the Whig leaders were dismissed from their offices and posts of honor. On the other hand, he gained adherents through barefaced bribery. But bountifully as his money flowed, it was insufficient to win over the whole people. Public opinion opposed more and more strongly the favorite, who, without merit of his own, and only through the caprice of an ill-advised monarch, had attained power, who had sacrificed England's honor and interest in the conclusion of the peace, and who had introduced new and unpopular taxes. Innumerable pamphlets attacked the king and his minister, often in the coarsest manner. The prime minister was pelted with mud and stones, and his very life threatened. The parliamentary system was too deeply rooted in the spirit of the British nation for any attempt to supplant it by a strong, absolute monarchy to have a chance of success. But Bute did not realize this. He ascribed the revolt in public opinion solely to his unpopularity; and as he professed to be a loyal servant of his princely patron, he of his own motion resigned his office in April, 1763. But neither George nor he renounced their plans. Bute caused a ministry to be formed out of the personal friends of the king, which, from its three eminent members, received the name of the 'triumvirate.' George Grenville was at its head, but he had neither statesmanlike ability nor true perseverance.

The public was not deceived by the game played by Bute. A few days after the change of government there appeared, on April 23, the forty-fifth number of the opposition paper, the "North Briton," in which the foreign policy especially of the king and his ministers was attacked in the most malignant manner.

The author of the article was John Wilkes, the son of a rich brandy-distiller, and one of the most disreputable sensualists of an immoral age. Through Lord Temple, a relative of Pitt, he had obtained a seat in the Lower House. Grenville, moved at once by desire for personal revenge and by the wish to make himself acceptable to the king, abused the ill-defined power of the secretary of state to issue a general warrant against the authors, printers, and disseminators of the libellous sheet. Wilkes was one of the forty persons imprisoned in virtue of this warrant, but the Court of Common Pleas ordered him to be set at liberty on account of his pre-

rogative as a member of parliament. Boundless rejoicings greeted this victory of the cause of parliamentary freedom over royal arbitrariness.

If the government had allowed the matter to drop without taking further steps, it would soon have been forgotten; but the blind thirst for revenge on the part of the king and Grenville induced them to reopen the case against Wilkes, and by so doing made this little-respected man the representative of law and freedom. On the minister's motion the Lower House declared 'number 45' to be a false and scurrilous libel, calculated to provoke disorder, and ordered it to be burned at the hands of the common hangman. The Upper House concurred in this decision. One of Grenville's friends, a distinguished pistol-shot, challenged Wilkes to a duel, and sent him home with a bullet in his body. Wilkes saw that he must evade the storm with which he was menaced, and scarcely was he in any measure restored to health when he fled to France. The Lower House, however, declared him an outlaw.

The public was of a different opinion from the official authorities. It felt that England was at this time in a crisis threatening her liberties and ancient institutions. Up to this time the Lower House had defended these against the encroachments of the crown; now this unnatural and venal representative of the people allied itself with the latter for the suppression of personal and political liberty. Repeatedly had the people shown warmest sympathy for Wilkes as against his persecutors. After his flight he received complimentary addresses and money-subscriptions from all sides. It was expected that under more favorable circumstances he would renew the fight.

While the Grenville ministry was busying itself with the taxation of the North American colonies, King George was seized with a severe illness that soon affected his mind. Although he rallied within a short time, yet a recurrence of the malady was all too probable. In his resolute and devout way the king, immediately after his recovery, required the carrying through of an act of regency, providing for the case of his continued inability to attend to business, or his sudden death. But the 'triumvirate,' which had fallen out with Lord Bute, excluded the latter's patroness, the widowed Princess Frederick, mother of the king, from the reversion to the regency. The Lower House, however, was more loyal than the ministers, and included her name in the act. This insult offered to his mother by his own ministry hurt the monarch deeply. Besides this, repeated

visings of the populace taught him how unpopular the administration had become throughout the country. George III., therefore, decided to form a new administration, and offered the leadership of it to Pitt, who, however, declined it. Thereupon the king addressed himself to the coalition of the great Whig lords, from whom he had always been so anxious to free himself, and accordingly an administration of eminent mediocrities came into existence (July, 1765). Its head, as chief lord of the treasury, was the Marquis of Rockingham, one of the richest land-owners of England, but without any special talent except for horse-racing. The inevitable Newcastle received the privy seal. The principal secretary of state was the Duke of Grafton, an indolent man, given to pleasure, but having probity and a natural gift of oratory.

And this most incapable of all ministries now tried its hand with the American colonies. But its weakness in dealing with them induced the king to call Pitt to office.

It was too late. Age and, in a still higher degree, sickness had so impaired, not, indeed, the high talent of the great commoner, but his physical strength, that he was incapable of ruling.

First of all, Pitt believed that he must select his colleagues from the different sections of the Whig party, in order, under all circumstances, to be secure of the majority (July, 1766). There was only one possible way of holding these discordant elements together, — namely, their firm guidance through the matchless genius and the paramount influence of the prime minister. But the latter felt himself a miserably sick man, and incapable of constant work. He wished only to act as an adviser, in the last instance, on the most important affairs. He believed he would never again be in a condition to take the lead in the frequent and stormy debates in the Lower House. Therefore he selected for himself the sinecure of keeper of the privy seal; and for the same reason, he had himself transferred by the king to the Upper House, under the title of Earl of Chatham. Ultimately the people—who up to this time had regarded the great commoner as their trusted and sincere champion, and, at the same time, as their representative in the councils of the crown—saw in Pitt's acceptance of the peerage a desertion of their flag and an act of treachery. The disappointment was immense. And he in no way attained his end. Scarcely had he become minister when he fell such a victim to the gout and nervous prostration that he was compelled to renounce all participation in public

affairs. Under such circumstances the ministry could escape neither internal discord nor well-merited attacks from the outside. In the Lower House there arose against such a distracted government the young Edmund Burke, the most brilliant orator of the later generation. Born in Dublin in the year 1728, Burke had spent his youth in storing his mind with accurate knowledge in manifold departments of study, and in unwearied searches after a suitable and, at the same time, a lucrative appointment. At length he had the good fortune to be chosen by Lord Rockingham as his private secretary. The marquis was clear-sighted enough to appreciate what an invaluable assistant in parliament he would find in the highly gifted Irishman, and immediately provided him with a seat in the Lower House (1765). Here the power and abundance of his eloquence, the breadth and elevation of his views, combined with the exceeding beauty of his style, secured for him from the first an influential and highly important position.

In consequence of the long-continued and increasing sickness of Chatham, aggravated at times to temporary disorder of the intellect, the Duke of Grafton had to undertake the leadership of the cabinet, that was soon deprived of its unprepossessing, but gifted, member, Townshend, through his sudden death, in September, 1767. Some months later Chatham formally resigned his office; he was thought to be at the point of death.

On the dissolution of parliament in the spring of 1768, Wilkes came back to England with the view of getting a seat in the Lower House, and this without regard to the sentence of outlawry which had been pronounced on him. His foolish quasi-persecution by the official powers brought matters so far that this dissolute adventurer came to be regarded as the personification of political freedom. With shouts of "Wilkes and Liberty Forever!" and "Number Forty-five!" Wilkes was elected member for the county of Middlesex. But the government took no warning from what had occurred, and brought Wilkes again before the court, which, indeed, pronounced the former sentence of outlawry illegal, and therefore invalid, but, nevertheless, sentenced him, on account of his libels and obscene writings, to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £1000.

The people freed their hero from the officers of the court, and drew his carriage in triumph into the city. Wilkes went to prison, however, but the government really violated the law by not liberating him from prison on the meeting of parliament. The king had

directly demanded of his ministers the expulsion of the pamphleteer from parliament, but they dared not venture to rouse the popular indignation any further. Ultimately Wilkes himself, by officially claiming admission into the Lower House, compelled them to take more decided steps in the matter. Undoubtedly he was perfectly justified in making the claim. His election, by an overwhelming majority, as an alderman of London, was a new evidence of his growing popularity. In their perplexity the authorities took advantage of a virulent paper that he had lately issued from his prison against one of the secretaries of state, to charge him before the Lower House with the crime of treason, and to demand his exclusion from the house on account of his bad character. The Commons conceded the demand by a great majority. This arbitrary proceeding the electors of Middlesex answered by choosing Wilkes anew. The Lower House found itself in a difficult dilemma. Either it must yield to the electors of Middlesex, or by maintaining its sentence of exclusion it must violate in the grossest manner the right of election, to which it owed its own existence. It preferred the questionable alternative of declaring Wilkes's election invalid. A third election had the same result as the former ones, and was again annulled.

This game might have been continued indefinitely had not the ministry adopted another mode of procedure. It induced one of its most intrepid adherents, Colonel Luttrell, to face the disfavor of the public, and offer himself as a candidate for Middlesex in opposition to Wilkes. The result was that the latter received 1143 votes, while Luttrell had only 296. But the Lower House then took the unprecedented step of declaring that a man supported by such a small minority was the legitimate representative for the county, and had a right to the seat, the votes given for Wilkes being of no value. The question was no longer in regard to Wilkes's personal character, but whether, in Great Britain, the public had any protection against the arbitrary proceedings of a body which was itself only the creature of the popular will. This question gave rise to a third party, more advanced than the Whigs, — namely, that of the Radicals. — whose numbers kept steadily increasing, and who, in opposition to an aristocracy become effete, demanded that the representation of the people should be made more democratic through the adoption of a comprehensive reform bill.

In the midst of this perilous situation and the general excitement

a series of letters began to appear (January 21, 1769) in the "London Public Advertiser," which, under the republican signature of Junius, contained the most virulent attacks against the individual members of the cabinet and even against the king himself. The miserable foreign policy of George III. since the overthrow of Pitt, the quarrel with America, the claim of the monarch to personal rule, the arbitrary procedure of the ministers, their want of judgment in all foreign questions, the maltreatment of Wilkes, the violation of



FIG. 70. — Sir Philip Francis. From the engraving by H. Adlard; original painting by John Hoppner (1758–1810).

the rights of the people, were all depicted with marvellous sharpness, seathing wit, and inexorable logic, and held up to public ridicule and contempt. Toward the end of the writer's life it was shown, with tolerable certainty, that the compiler was Sir Philip Francis (Fig. 70; 1740–1818), an Irishman, who had received from Lord Grenville a lucrative position in the war ministry, and therefore made war on all the latter's enemies.

As the king took part quite openly against Wilkes, and soon also against Junius, the latter attacked him personally on December 19,

1769, and threatened him with the fate of Charles I. The government made use of this attack to introduce a long series of actions against the press. On this occasion the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield laid it down as law that in such cases the jury had not to decide the question of guilt, but only whether the accused printer had really published the article in question. By this dictum the question of guilt would have been entirely reserved for the judges, unconditionally submissive as they were to the crown. But here the latter suffered new defeat. The jury were by no means satisfied with such a limitation of their competence, and acquitted the publisher of the newspaper.

Meanwhile Lord Chatham had recovered from his severe illness, and raised his voice in the Upper House against the unheard-of encroachments of the ruling faction upon the liberties and rights of the people. His appearance and his speech made the most profound impression. Several ministers gave in their resignations, and ultimately Grafton was unable longer to bear the burden of responsibility. In his extremity George III. turned to Lord Frederick North (born 1733),—up to this time a subordinate member of the former government,—and anxiously solicited him to form a new cabinet. Only out of deference to the will of his sovereign did North undertake the management of affairs (March, 1770). North, although an admirable character, and a man of clear intellect, allowed his devotion to the king to make him too compliant to his monarch's wishes.

At first North found violent hostility on the part of the disappointed opposition, both in Parliament, where Chatham and his friends were specially adverse to him, and in the city.

In April, 1770, Wilkes was finally discharged from prison, and was now sworn in as an alderman of London. The capital began a formal campaign against the ministry and the Lower House, whose dissolution it demanded from the king in repeated addresses. But the latter remained firm, and he had soon the satisfaction of seeing the opposition dying out on all sides. In Parliament Lord North's amiable, frank, and genial nature, combined with his loyalty, won him many friends.

Lord North, and along with him the king, were completely triumphant. In its foreign policy the government attained a creditable success on the question of the Falkland Islands. The prime minister was successful in gaining highly qualified assistants for the

leading of the Lower House, among the most notable of whom was the attorney-general, Thurlow, the most dreaded of all the Tories as a debater; as also the solicitor-general, Wedderburn, an ambitious and self-seeking, but very acute lawyer. The War of the American Revolution, which taxed the strength of England from 1775 to 1783, and resulted in the final independence of the thirteen revolted colonies, will be treated in a later volume. In alliance with the Americans, France entered upon war with England in 1778, and Spain in 1779.

Nor were the American troubles the only ones with which this ministry had to deal. The spirit of discontent amongst the lower classes found repeated expression in the mutinies on board the English squadron. The Irish threatened the government quite openly with a general revolt; and, in order to propitiate them, the government, in 1778, abolished some of the most obnoxious penal measures and restrictions affecting the Catholics. These mitigations, much as they were in keeping with the spirit of the times, afforded the English and Scottish populace a pretext for rising against the Catholics. A young Scottish nobleman, whose reason was somewhat affected, Lord George Gordon, put himself at the head of the agitation, whose war-cry was 'No Popery!' Protestant societies were formed in the towns, and the Catholic churches were burned down, while prominent Catholics were maltreated on the streets. The lamentable weakness which the government showed in dealing with the 'No Popery' movement emboldened its adherents more and more. In addition, the discontent of the people grew over the self-seeking, unscrupulous, and incapable rule of the aristocracy. In all the important towns, and in most of the counties, great assemblies took place, which petitioned parliament for reform of the budget. Burke supported the petitions through his fervid and thoroughly statesman-like eloquence; but the majority of the house, mainly composed of privileged parties, rejected every attempt at reform. Then the exasperated people took the 'No Popery' movement as a pretext for disorder. On June 2, 1780, Lord Gordon led a mob of 50,000 or 60,000 men against the parliament, the liberal-minded members of which were abused and maltreated. Then the populace attacked the houses of the leading statesmen, as well as the Catholic chapels and the prisons, and gave them, in a great measure, to the flames. At the king's immediate orders, soldiers and militia attacked the rioters; and not till more than a thousand of these were killed or

wounded was the rising suppressed. It had manifested that amongst the English people there were numerous revolutionary elements, that a great military disaster could easily rouse and make dangerous.

In Europe the Spaniards, after their declaration of war on England in the summer of 1779, concentrated their efforts upon the reconquest of Gibraltar. They blockaded Gibraltar, whose strong works were successfully defended by the gallant garrison under the heroic Elliot. When the provisions in the town were entirely exhausted, Admiral Sir George Rodney came to its help. He completely defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent (January, 1780), and took its admiral, Langara, prisoner, only four Spanish ships escaping. Gibraltar was again adequately provisioned. Notwithstanding these successes the difficulties of the political and military situation continued to assume a more threatening aspect for England. Her whole East Indian and West Indian mercantile fleets—sixty richly laden vessels—were captured by the Spaniards. Still more serious were the diplomatic complications. England claimed the right of searching all neutral vessels to discover whether they were enemy's property or contraband of war. This tyrannical procedure roused the hottest indignation throughout Europe. The Czarina Catharine II., in particular, threatened that she would not consent to the commerce of her subjects being subjected to such a humiliating insult. She concluded a treaty of armed neutrality, in 1780, with Denmark, Prussia, and Holland. One of the allied states, Holland, was indeed without delay involved in a conflict with England. In that republic the 'Patriots,' who were under the leadership of the pensionary van Berkel, had, through the errors of the Stadtholder William V., the momentary advantage.

The sympathy which the Dutch had shown for America induced Great Britain to declare war on them. The end which the cabinet of St. James had in view it attained in a great measure. The Dutch fleet indeed again showed itself worthy of its ancient fame; and Admiral Zoutman fought so bravely against the squadron of Admiral Hyde Parker at the Doggerbank, in 1781, that the victory remained undecided. But otherwise the Netherlands suffered the most severe losses everywhere. Their East Indian vessels fell into the hands of their enemies. Admiral Rodney took from them the island of St. Eustatius, whereby he inflicted on them a loss amounting to about \$15,000,000. This was the end of the sea-power of the United Provinces.

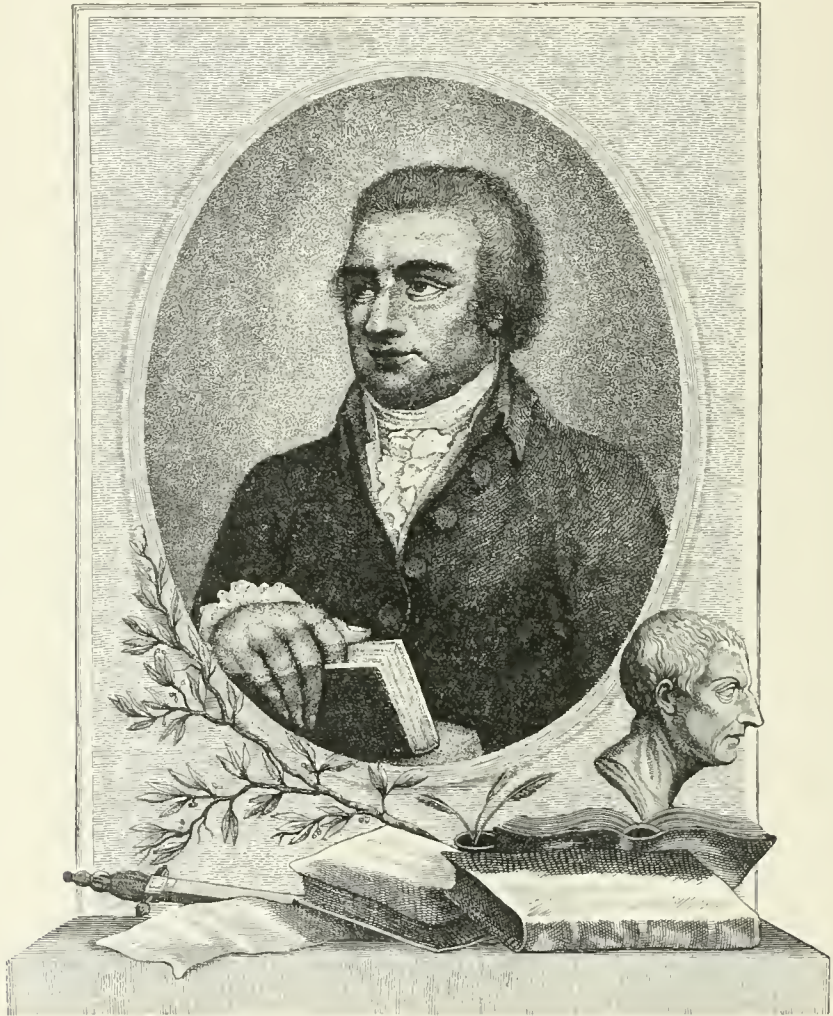
Otherwise, also, the English justified the boldness of their political attitude, through the vigor with which they maintained the war against so many enemies. The latter were able to make so little use of their numerical superiority that England became mistress of the seas, and practically annihilated the French, Spanish, and Dutch traffic. After General Murray had heroically defended himself for nearly a year in Minorca, against the immensely superior force of the allies, under the Duke of Crillon, he was compelled to yield the island to the adversaries. A frightful bombardment of Gibraltar led to no result. Its brave governor, Elliot, undertook a sally by which he destroyed almost all the Spanish batteries. Finally the Duke of Crillon attacked Gibraltar, placing, however, most confidence in his floating batteries, by means of which he hoped to storm the fortress on its sea side. But the English red-hot balls caused all the costly vessels to go up in flames.

Meanwhile, in the West Indies, the French admiral, de Grasse, with a far superior force, conquered a part of the English Little Antilles. He had equipped himself for the conquest of Jamaica, when Rodney arrived with re-enforcements from Europe, and completely defeated him in a bloody battle off Martinique, on April 12, 1782. De Grasse had to surrender himself and his ship. The great French fleet was destroyed or scattered. Yet the overwhelming armaments and vigorous operations of the allied French and Spaniards, and the unconquerable resistance of the Americans, made peace increasingly necessary for England.

In March, 1782, the military disasters in America caused the overthrow of Lord North, who was succeeded by a ministry of Whig aristocrats, led by the Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne. The new secretary of state was the brilliant and eloquent Charles James Fox (Fig. 71), son of Henry Fox, the celebrated antagonist of the elder Pitt.

In Ireland difficulties had again arisen. Under the leadership of the highly gifted orator, Henry Flood, a party was constituted in the aristocratic and Anglican parliament of Ireland, which especially demanded the abolition of the commercial and industrial restrictions which condemned Ireland to helpless poverty. The claims of the Irish increased in proportion as the government was compelled to strip the island of troops on account of the Franco-American war. Under the pretext of preventing a threatened French landing, over 50,000 volunteers seized arms, waiting only for a leader to enable

them to extort the fulfilment of the national wishes (1779). They found him in Henry Grattan (born 1746), an advocate of passionate, although occasionally turgid, eloquence, but truly representing the character of his people. "Free commerce" and "free legislation" were the objects for which he contended. The English government,



THE RIGHT HON.^{BLE}
CHARLES FOX

FIG. 71. — Charles Fox. From a copper-plate engraving by Cornorotto; original painting by F. Sloane.

surrounded by foes, was in no condition to resist this assault. In 1780 Lord North fulfilled the first of the desires of the Irish by the abolition of the restrictions on commerce, and the permission to enjoy free commercial intercourse with the British possessions. In May, 1782, the Rockingham-Shelburne ministry granted their second wish,—namely, the independence of the Irish parliament from the English one. Only a personal union bound the two kingdoms. Full of gratitude, the Irish parliament voted the sum of £100,000 to its gifted and brave, but poor, leader. People anticipated that unity and content were forever restored between Ireland and Great Britain,—a beautiful, but short-lived dream.

Shortly after this, in 1783, the disastrous War of the American Revolution was brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris. England acknowledged the independence of the United States, and ceded Florida and Minorca to Spain, and the region of the Senegal to France. A mutual restitution was made of conquests in the West Indies. The two facts of most importance, at the close of the eighteenth century, were the establishment of the great democratic-republican commonwealth on the west of the Atlantic Ocean and the Revolution in France. The development of the whole century and a half, since the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia, had prepared the way for both; but their occurrence indicates the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind. It is the epoch of international commerce and of democracy.

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